THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF MAITRAKAS

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DECLARATION

It is certified that the material embodied in this thesis entitled, **"THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF MAITRAKAS"**, is based on my original research work. It is certified that no part of this thesis has been submitted at this or any other University for the award of any other degree. No extensive use has been made of the work of other investigators and wherever the work of other researchers has been used, reference has been given in the text.

My indebtedness to other works has duly acknowledged at relevant places.

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PREFACE

It has often been argued that ancient Indian history is invariably the history of large empires. Though based on false notion, the excessive indulgence in the history of big empires like the Mauryas and the Guptas by most contemporary historians, *ipso facto* proves the dictum. While it has, traditionally, proved difficult for historians to overcome such clap-traps, this very over emphasis on political history has become the *numero uno* bane of the dominant early Indian historiography. The tiny and innocuous looking regional dynasties have been overlooked and as consequence too many gaps in the ancient Indian history have remained unplugged.

In such an environment, where the study of regional powers has constantly proved to be the *bete noire* of our historians, sprang up, the Maitrakas in Gujarāt in the post Gupta period. It hardly comes as a surprise then, that the study of this dynasty has not received much attention. The researches conducted on the topic so far, are grossly inadequate. The study material either comprising of primary or secondary sources, is scanty and scattered which calls for proper collection, assimilation and interpretation.

Attention was focussed on the Maitrakas for the first time as early as 1896 in the Gujarāt Volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*[1]. But this account prepared by Bhagwān Lāl Indrāji and A.M.T. Jackson consisting of a political outline of the dynasty suffered from certain radical errors[2] owing to the lack of sufficient material as well as incorrect interpretation of some Maitraka inscriptions. Areas like the religion of the Maitrakas and their administrative divisions were left untouched. Incidental references to the Maitrakas are made in the

reports of work done by Burgess and Cousens[3] in Northern Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād between 1870 and 1890.

Since the 1870's, scholars like J.F. Fleet, E. Hultzsch, D.B. Diskalkar, F. Kielhorn, G. Bühler have translated and edited various Maitraka inscriptions in quite a few epigraphical and archaeological Journals. Epigraphists like A.S. Gadre,[4] G.V. Achārya,[5] V.G. Ozā[6] have also tried their hand at transcribing the Maitraka epigraphs and by their efforts have aroused great curiosity among other historians about the Maitrakas. Right from 1872 down to as recent as 1980, Vala, the ancient Valabhi, capital of the Maitrakas has been excavated, time and again and from the ruins of the site some vestiges and artifacts have been unearthed.

The Maitrakas have been discussed in various works on the history and culture of Gujarat region. One of the earliest and notable work is H.D. Sankalia's, *Archaeology of Gujarāt* (1941). But a sorely neglected sphere in his book is the Maitraka economy. His other work, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarāt* (1949) provides rare and important information about the territorial divisions and nature of ethnic settlements in Gujarat.

Other regional studies of Gujarat like S.B. Rājyagor's, *History of Gujarāt* (1982), H. Wilber force Bell's, *History of Kāthiāwāḍ* (1980), and particularly M.R. Majumdar's monographs, *Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarāt* (1960) and *Cultural History of Gujarāt* (1963), are helpful but suffer from the same defect of not giving importance to the economy and society of the Maitrakas. Some works like H.G. Shastri's, *Maitraka Kālin Gujarāt* (1955), R.L.

Pārikh's, *Maitrakālin Gujarāt* (1955) and R.C. Pārikh's *Gujarātana Abhilekh* are written in Gujarāti.

So far out of the various works on the topic, the most voluminous is Mrs. K.J. Virji's *Ancient History of Saurāṣtra*. Though published way back in 1953, it still remains the most authentic and authoritative study on the subject. Virji reconstructs the history of Saurāṣtra from earliest times right down to the Maitraka period and its ultimate downfall around 775 A.D. The most significant contribution of this work is the detailed and extensive cataloguing of the numerous Maitraka land grant charters. But Virji dwells too deep into the political history of the dynasty and neglects other important areas. The Maitrakas economic set up is dismissed in mere five pages (pp. 219-223). Again, not much emphasis is laid on the cultural and geographical conditions of the period.

A recent work on the Maitrakas is Nita Verma's *Society and Economy in Ancient India: An Epigraphic Study of the Maitrakas* (c. A.D. 475-775). Despite giving a critical and comprehensive view of the Maitraka grants, the work suffers from various defects. First of all, it is based on epigraphy alone and not much attention is paid to other sources like the archaeology of the region, art, architecture, numismatics, literature etc, for the reconstruction of the Maitraka history. Secondly, while laying stress on the Maitraka economy and society, the work neglects the political history and chronology of the dynasty. These defects debar it from becoming a comprehensive work on the subject.

For a comprehensive picture of the history of ancient India there is a great need for more regional studies. Of late Journals like *Studies in History* have taken up the issue of examining regional

problems and paying attention to the neglected periods of India's past and as such the Maitrakas have found some space in these annals. But references of such type are only occasional and the concerned articles contain limited information. With many advancements having been made in the techniques of research of the Indian past, it is about time that the neglected, small and independent, but important regional powers be viewed in broader perspective.

For this purpose, I have earmarked one such dynasty of ancient India, from western region, i.e., the Maitrakas of Valabhi. Out of the many dynasties that sprang up around this time, i.e., towards the closing years of the fifth century A.D., the Maitrakas proved to be the most durable, providing security and stability to *Aparānta* (part of Gujarāt), in the turbulent times of internal dissensions and external invasions, especially, in the form of Hūṇa menace.

The period starting with the death of Skanda Gupta up to the rise of Harṣavardhana is generally regarded as a period of great turmoil and unrest in ancient Indian history. It is considered to be a transitory phase as the glory of the Guptas was steadily waning away and no other dynasty of the times seemed likely to replace them.

In fact, the problem started arising during the later half of Skanda Gupta reign itself. All the attention and resources of the sovereign were focussed on stopping the marauding Hūṇas, who invaded. India in the second half of the fifth century A.D. Although Skanda Gupta effectively stopped the march of the Hūṇas in India, his successors proved to be weak and could not bear the onslaught of the intruders. By 485 A.D., the Hūṇas occupied eastern Mālwā and a good portion of central India, where their inscriptions have been found.

Though the Hūṇas were wiped out sometimes later by Yaśodharmana of Mālwā, they hastened the demise of the already withering power of the Guptas. The Gupta power was further undermined by the rise of various feudatories, who found this time opportune to make final break with the apron strings of the tottering empire. The Maitrakas, the Maukharis, the Gauḍas and before them the kings of the Faridpur plates in East Bengāl carved out practically independent principalities before the actual *coup de grace* by Yaśodharmana Viśnuvardhana.*

Of all these regional powers in this interregnum, the Maukharis and the Maitrakas were the most enduring. While the former held power in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh with their capital at Kanauj, the latter established their authority in Gujarāt and Western Mālwā with Valabhi as their capital.

The Maitrakas of Valabhi rose at sometime probably before the death of Skanda Gupta, who as is evident from the various epigraphical evidences (e.g. *Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription*), was in possession of Saurāṣtra at least up to the Gupta year 138 or 457 A.D. Skanda Gupta died in 467 A.D.

Thus taking advantage of the circumstances, the Maitrakas established a dynasty in Western India, which reigned for about three hundred years. The rule of the family of Valabhi came to an end probably about 766-67 A.D.

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* But this should not in anyway, be construed to mean that the rise of these petty feudatories was solely responsible for the wiping of the Gupta power. The analysis of the decline of such a mighty empire, is infact, a much more complicated affair and the fall of the Imperial Guptas must be understood in the light of complex socio-economic factors. B.N.S. Yādava, in his work *Society and Culture in North India in the Twelfth Century*, Allabhbad, 1973 has given a comprehensive account of these causes of the decline of the Gupta empire.

The history and culture of the Maitrakas is not only interesting because of the advancements this dynasty made in various facets of life but also very significant, for it depicts the general socio-political trends prevalent in this period of ancient India. Wedded to this is the fact, that the study of the Maitrakas is also essential for under standing the history of Western India.

This research work conducts the micro-level study of the Maitrakas, analysing and assessing the archaeological, numismatic, literary and epigraphical sources of the period. Beside, an effort is made to lay proper emphasis on all the sectors comprising of the political, social, administrative, economical and cultural aspects of the kingdom.

Overall, however, the work reflects the considerable expansion and diversification that has occurred in historical research in India in recent years. The old pre-occupation with political history has been integrated into a broader framework which places equal emphasis on social, economic and cultural history of the Maitrakas. The whole thesis contains a corpus of eight chapters and ultimately culminates into appendices.

The first chapter deals with the source material which is at our disposal for the reconstruction of the history of the Maitrakas. The topic is broadly ramified into five branches, viz., Epigraphy, Archaeology and Sculpture, Architecture, Numismatics and literature. Archaeological excavations in the region of Kāthiāwāḍ and epigraphic evidences in the form of about one hundred and twenty copper plate grants issued by the Maitraka kings constitute the basis of this chapter. Literary evidences consist of both indigenous and foreign accounts. The classical Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina literature like Daṇḍin's

Daśakumāracharita, Bhaṭṭi's *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, Baṇa's *Harṣhacharita*, Merutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Somdeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* etc. and the records left behind by the Chinese and Arab travellers like Yuan Chwang, I tsing, Alberuni which provide us rare and valuable information regarding the Maitrakas are also considered.

The second chapter describes the geographical expense and ethnography of the Maitrakas. It is a known fact that any comprehensive study of the history of a region requires a through knowledge of its geography. Thus, the geology, physiology, topography and demography of modern Gujarāt in general and Saurāṣtra in particular are looked at, taking into account the changes, the region might have undergone with the passage of time. This is done is order to form an idea of the position of ancient Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ. Apart from explaining the geographical settings and ethnic settlements, the topic also deals with the various theories regarding the origin of the Maitrakas.

The third chapter is devoted to the political history of the Maitrakas. This topic besides throwing light on the genealogy and chronology of the Maitraka dynasty, also tries to discover the titles assumed and the status acquired by its rulers. Alongside, an enquiry is made into the fact whether the early rulers were kings or mere feudatories. Further, the mature political phase, the conflicts, divisions, branches and the political decline of the empire is viewed in broader perspective. Apart from this, a brief sketch of the history of Saurāṣtra from earliest times upto the Maitraka period is also prepared. Lastly an attempt has been made to study the relations of the Maitrakas with their contemporaries, feudatories and successors.

The Fourth chapter is related to the socio-cultural life during the Maitraka times. The social organisation and stratification along with the social order and the varna system form a portion of the chapter. Further, the life in general and social conditions including the position of woman, food and drinks, dress and ornaments, games and amusements, customs, rituals and traditions, the marriage practices and festivals are studied. The systems of education (both monastic and non monastic), the undercurrent of the feudal system, arts and crafts, script and language and the cultural synthesis under the Maitrakas also constitute an integral part of the topic.

The subject matter of the fifth chapter is the administrative set up under the Maitrakas. The powers of the sovereign, the fetters on his authority, the theory of kingship in general, the constitution of the kings council, the various officers pertaining to the civil, revenue and police departments or to the judiciary or army are discussed in detail. Further, the administrative and territorial divisions, and the administration at different levels (whether at central, provincial, district, city or local or village), form an indispensable part of the topic. All these subtitles are studied to find out whether or not the Valabhi kingdom was a welfare state.

The sixth chapter refers to the Maitraka economy. The topic searches the development under the agrarian structure and the emergence of new agrarian economy based on the system of land grants. Issues like the ownership of land, land donations, land varieties, land measurements, sale and purchase of land and the land revenue are studied in depth. Further, phenomenon's like the rise of landed class, the emergence of quasi-feudalistic tendencies based on self sufficient economic units, demands on peasantry, irrigation and

agricultural production, alongwith the advancements made in the secondary sector and industry, crafts and technology, weights and measures are explored. Alongside this, the extent of trade both internal and external, the guild system, modes of transport, the fiscal measures and the income derived by the state through various sources like taxes, cesses, custom levies, fines etc.; the existence of trade centres, money economy and the foreign contacts of the Maitrakas are also deplored. Finally, the topic assesses the significance of the land grant charters of the Maitraka dynasty in the process of regional state formation in early Medieval Gujarāt.

The seventh chapter explores the religious life in the times of the Maitrakas. Various religions and sects existing during the Maitraka period, the personal religion of the Maitraka kings, places of worship, the temples, Buddhist monasteries, the spread of Jainism and the second assembly of the Jainas held at Valabhi during these times basically constitute the topic.

The eighth and the last chapter is devoted to the conclusions drawn by the research and it gives some general inferences from the Maitraka rule. The topic explores and assesses, critically, the political, social-economic and cultural contributions of the Maitrakas to the history of western India, during their three-century long rule over parts of Gujarāt in the post Gupta period.

At the very end, appendices showing a catalogue of the Maitraka land grants and a list of Numerals and Alphabets as found in the Maitraka inscriptions and coins is given.

This thesis is a result of research carried under the guidance of Dr. Manmohan Kumār who has spared his precious time in correcting my mistakes through constructive discussions and positive criticism.

By extending his valuable advises and suggestions he has made this research work worthwhile. I am thankful to my friends like Sri J.L. Khurāna,Dr. Balrāj Kharb, Jai Parkāsh, Sri Dayā Mitra Shastri and Sri H.L. Saluja among others for providing me encouragement and useful tips, especially regarding the Sanskrit terms and expressions. I am greatly indebted to Mr. P.C. Vasisth (Librarian, M.D. University, Rohtak and the entire staff of both M.D. University Library and the Central Archaeological Library of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. Finally. I am at a loss to find appropriate words to express my gratitude to my parents. All that I can say at this juncture is that without the grace of God and their all out support this work would have been impossible.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, Pt. 1, Chapter VIII, Bombay, 1896, pp. 78-106.
2. For one, Jackson, A.M.T., throughout in the *Bombay Gazetteer* describes the Maitrakas as belonging to the Valabhi dynasty. They have been constantly referred as the Valabhis. But Valabhi, the capital of the Maitrakas, had nothing to do with the naming of the dynasty. The Maitrakas did not take up the name of their capital as a part of their royal name like the Ghori dynasty after their capital Ghor. This mistake was committed because in the beginning of the study of the Maitrakas, quite erroneously, a distinction was made between the Maitraka and the Valabhi kings. Only later on it was discovered that both were the same. Hence, it is appropriate to call the dynasty "Maitraka dynasty" and not "Valabhi dynasty".
3. Burgess and Cousens, *Progress Reports of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle;* also *Antiquities of Kuchh and Kāthiāwāḍ.*
4. Gadre, A.S., *Important Inscriptions from the Barodā State.*
5. Acharya, G.V., *Historical Inscriptions from Gujarāt* (in Gujarati), Bombay, 1933-38.
6. Oza, V.G., *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IV, p. 74.
7. Sinhā, Nandini, 'Early Maitrakas, Land grant Charters and Regional State Formation in Early Medieval Gujarat', *Studies in History* (New Series), vol. XVII, no. 2, July-December 2001, Sage Publication, New Delhi, pp. 151-174. This article highlights the significance of the land grant charters of the Maitraka dynasty in the process of regional state formation in early medieval Gujarat. Such articles though valuable, are of limited use.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABI	:	Annals of Bhaṇḍārkar Institute, Poonā.
ABORI	:	Annals of Bhaṇḍārkar Oriental Research Institute, Poonā.
AHS	:	Ancient History of Saurāshtra, K.J. Virji.
AI	:	Ancient India - A Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India.
AMMK	:	Ārya Mañju Śri Mula Kalpa.
AOG	:	Archaeology of Gujarat, H.D. Sankalia.
ASIR	:	Archaeological Survey of India - A Review.
ASI, AR	:	Archaeological Survey of India - Annual Report.
ASRW	:	Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Western India.
BG	:	Bombay Gazetteer.
Bh.L. No.	:	Bhaṇḍārkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India, Appendix to EI, Vol. XIX - XXIII.
BPSI	:	Bhāvnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions - Bhāvnagar Archaeological Department, 1899.
BSOAS	:	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
BV	:	Bhārtiya Vidya.
C	:	Circa.
CHI	:	Cambridge History of India.
CHI	:	Comprehensive History of India, Vol. III, R.C. Majumdar.

CII	:	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III - Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors, ed. J.F. Fleet, Calcuttā, 1888.
CP	:	Copper-plate.
CSHI	:	Cambridge Short History of India.
EHI	:	Early History of India, V.A. Smith.
EI	:	Epigraphia Indica.
GSG	:	Gujarāt State Gazetteer, Government of Gujarāt.
GOS	:	Gāekwad Oriental Series.
HCCG	:	Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarāt, M.R. Majumdar.
HCIP	:	History and Culture of the Indian People, (Gen. Ed.) R.C. Majumdar.
HOG	:	History of Gujarāt, S.B. Rājyagor.
IA	:	Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
IAR	:	Indian Archaeology - A Review.
IE, AR	:	Indian Epigraphy, Annual Reports on.
IHQ	:	Indian Historical Quarterly.
IHRIM	:	Indian Historical Research Institute, (St. Xavier's College).
IIBS	:	Important Inscriptions from the Barodā State, A.S. Gadre.
JASB	:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS	:	Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.

JBORS	:	Journal of the Bihār and Orissa Research Society.
JESI	:	Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India, (Bhāratiya Purābhilekha Patrikā).
JGRS	:	Journal of the Gujarāt Research Society.
JIH	:	Journal of Indian History.
JISOA	:	Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art.
JNSI	:	Journal of Numismatic Society of India, Vārāṇasi.
JOI	:	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Barodā.
JORI	:	Journal of Oriental Research Institute, Barodā.
JRAS	:	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JUB	:	Journal of University of Bombay.
JUPHS	:	Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society.
NS	:	Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengāl.
NS	:	New Series.
PHAG	:	Pre Historic and Historic Archaeology of Gujarāt, H.D. Sankalia.
PHAI	:	Political History of Ancient India, H.C. Raychaudhuri.
PIHC	:	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
PRAS, WC	:	Progress Reports of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.

PTOC(7th)	:	Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Congress, Seventh Session.
PWMB	:	Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
SAII	:	Studies of Ancient Indian Inscriptions, B. Upādhyāya, Vārāṇasi, 1961.
SI	:	Select Inscriptions, D.C. Sircār.
SIH	:	Studies in History (New Series) - A Journal of the Centre of Historical Studies, Jawāhar Lāl Nehru University, New Delhi, Vol. XVII, No. 2, July-December - 2001.
WM, AR	:	Watson Museum, Annual Reports of.
VOJ	:	Vienna Oriental Journal.

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CHAPTER I

SOURCE MATERIAL

History consists of a corpus of ascertained fact. When these ascertained facts possess any historical value they become evidences. All historical writings are based on evidences and their chronologically synchronized conglomeration constitute the basis of source material. The sources of the reconstruction of the history of the Maitrakas can be classified under five heads, viz., Archaeology, Architecture, Epigraphy, Numismatics and Literature (both indigeneous and foreign).

A. Archaeology, Artifacts and Material remains

Through a series of excavations our knowledge of the antiquities of Gujarāt, its pre-historic and historic archaeology has been enriched. Various Pre Harappan, Harappan and Post Harappan sites along with material remains from the pre Greek to the post Gupta times of ancient Indian history in Gujarāt have come to light. The explorations in the river valleys of Sābarmati, Mahi, Orsang, Narmadā and Tāpi were first started by Foote in 1891. But Valabhi - modern Valā, the capital of Maitrakas, was examined for the first time in 1872 A.D.[1] The site was explored and as a consequence a few scattered *lingas* and a well-polished life size granite *Nandi* or Bull lying near a modern Mahādeva temple were found. Apart from this, brick robbers had found copper pots, copper plates and small Buddhist relic shrines with earthen pots and clay seals of seventh century A.D. The site of Valabhi was again explored in about 1913 A.D.[2] and from its ruins were found ten pieces of stone inscriptions and a clay seal.

Excavations in Gujarāt were carried out in a systematic manner only since 1930. The archaeologists kept their rendezvous with the veritable Valabhi, the capital of Maitrakas and it was excavated once again by Father Heras from 1930 to 1934[2A]. Other places excavated in Gujarāt are Rangpur (1932), Amreli (1935), Vādnagar (1935), Kodinar (1936), Kamraj (1938), Akotā (1952), Lothal (1955) and Devani Mori (1960). Other minor sites and some districts like Kheḍa, Jāmnagar, Bhāvnagar, Kutch, Junāgaḍh, Mehsānā, Saurāṣhtra etc. were excavated not once but *ad nauseam*. Vala was explored again in 1979-80[3]. R.N. Mehtā under whole auspices these excavations were carried out has visualized habitational deposits of a single period divisible into three parts :-

Phase I = First Century B.C. to Fourth Century A.D.

Phase II = Fourth Century A.D. to Fifth Century A.D.

Phase III = Fifth Century A.D. to Eighth Century A.D.

The Maitraka dynasty falls under the third phase. This period has revealed fragmentary reused bricks and their structures, floors of well-beaten earth, a gold ring with an intaglio, (perhaps it was imported from Rome). But the exact period of the excavated site has not been ascertained.

Archaeology relies on the material relics left by human activity in their natural setting. Actually it is a *de novo* interpretation of the past human action, and supplements and expands the information already available from written or oral testimony. It widens the horizons of our knowledge through a series of excavations and explorations. Archaeology has played an important role in revealing Gujarāt's past and has led to some significant discoveries. In recent years the concept of surface exploration has gained prominence and

has become an indispensable part of archaeology. With the changing times a systematic survey of a specific area has assumed importance. Not only does it give an insight into the culture and civilization of a region, it also provides for its *raison d'être.*

Another site in the Jāmnagar District of Saurāṣhtra, which has played an important role in the history of Gujarāt and especially that of the Maitrakas was excavated by K. K. Bhān[4] recently. The interpretations based on the geographical conditions of the area and its topology yielded very interesting information. These explorations envisaged four historic periods for the area :-

(i) First Century B.C. to First Century A.D.

(ii) First Century A.D. to Fifth Century A.D.

(iii) Fifth Century A.D. to Tenth Century A.D.

(iv) Tenth Century A.D. to Fifteenth Century A.D.

The third historic period which falls under the ambit of our present study revealed ceramics like burnished red polished ware and some crude ware. Roman amphora[4A] ware and the Black on red ware which characterized the second historic period became extinct. Their absence signify the decline in Roman contacts with western India.[5]

Hitherto a number of sites have been excavated in Gujarāt and they have all suggested settlements in three to four historic periods. Likewise a number of objects relating to the third historic period i.e. to say, generally, between fifth century to tenth century A.D. have come to light.

There are evidences of the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Chalcolithic stages from Saurāṣtra in general and Valabhi in particular. The credit of the discovery of the early Palaeolithic implements in Saurāṣtra goes to R.N. Mehtā who made excavations in

the area in the year 1950-51.[5A] Later, K.V. Soundra Rājan also reported early Palaeolithic implement from the Shardi valley in Junāgaḍh district[5B]. Earlier, when Robert Bruce Foote explored the Bhāvnagar peninsula in 1916, he reported his finds as belonging to the Neolithic age and pottery of Later date[5C]. But his discovery was devoid of any Palaeolithic implements. Middle Palaeolithic stone tools were unearthed from Rāmpur in the vicinity of Valabhi[5D]. Again, from the Ghelo river bed in Valabhipur and Nesdi near Valabhi, Late Stone age tools have been excavated[5E]. An important Chalcolithic site with continuous occupation was discovered at Loniyana, a place at a distance of 14 kms. from Valabhi, by K.H. Momin[5F]. There were more than hundred Harappan and Late Harappan sites in the whole of Gujarāt before 1972[5G]. Some early historical sites, seven in the Śhetrunji valley, six in the Kālubhar valley and three in the Ghelo valley yielded the Red polished wares which belonged to the early centuries of the Christian era.[5H] Moreover, the old site of Valabhipur also yielded such ware[5I].

The material remains which have been dug out from the ruins of Valā are most important archaeologically, when it comes to the reconstruction of Maitraka history. The site was subject to repeated excavations. It was first excavated in 1872[6] and the objects found included *inter alia* clay seals of four varieties of about 7th century A.D., a small earthen pot with a Buddhist formula imprinted on its base (*ye dharma hetu prabhava*) with seal, carnelian and other beads and several varieties of ring stones. Beads and ring stones found in both finished and semi-finished conditions show that as in modern Cambay the polishing of carnelians was a leading industry in early Valabhi.

Numerous inscribed clay-seals bearing the images of Buddha and *stūpa* in Valabhi characters were discovered from Valā through excavations carried out by Father Heras who incidentally is also credited with the discovery of Guha Sena's pot sherd, fragment of a huge earthen pot with an inscription in Valabhi characters, though it is a *fait accompli* that this fragmented earthen ware of Guhasena was mentioned even previously.[7] The name of 'Śri Guhasena' (553-569 A.D.) along with the (Valabhi) year 247, i.e., c. 566 A.D. are found inscribed on it. It reads श्री गुहसेनस्य घट. This *ghata* or pot may have been used as a water clock.[8] Excavations at the basement of an ancient building in the ruins of Valā yielded parts of a damaged terracotta stupa, and a clay seal with an Elephant, it being a symbol of Buddha's mortal form in the previous birth. The explorations were done under the guidance of Father Heras in 1934. The Valā seal with an elephant is at present preserved at the Bombay Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College[8A].

Along with the linga's already mentioned, some images of the Nandis strewn over the ruins of Valabhi have also been found. They belong to the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Some of them are life size, as tall as six feet and their dimension *ipso facto* give us the idea of the grandeur of the Maitraka temples. H.G. Śhāstri has drawn our attention to an eight feet long Nandi. Later Gaudani and Dhaky have discovered a Nandi from Sandhoda, about sixteen kms. from Valā[9], belonging to c. 7th century A.D., as it is not profusely decorated. These figures are worth noting, particularly from the artistic point of view.

Numerous antiquities including small images, beds, terracotta seals alongwith a number of yellowish - red bricks of large size (45

cms.× 30 cms.) were dug out of old foundations of buildings at Valā. Other big old bricks measuring 37.5 cms. × 20 cms. × 7.5 cms. have been dug out in big numbers not only from Valā proper but also in neighbouring places. Big boulders, semi-circular or oblong in shape have also been discovered from the excavated ruins of Valabhipur[10]. Among the plethora of antiquities and objects unearthed from the ruins of Valā, there were found *inter alia*, ten pieces of stone inscriptions and a clay seal[11] (of baked clay) in fragmentary condition, and as such they serve little historic purpose. These fragmentary stone inscriptions probably belong to late sixth or early seventh Century A.D. (dated C. 600 A.D.)[12] and they show leanings towards Buddhism.

Besides these fragmentary inscriptions a few bronze images of Buddha have been excavated from Valā. A field in Valā has yielded five bronze images (now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum). H.D. Sankalia[13] and U.P. Shāh[14] have ascribed them to Jainism while M.R. Majumdār[15] calls them Buddhist. The latter's theory is based on the fact that on the pedestals of these images Dr. Bhaṇdārkar has deciphered a Mahāyānic inscription[16]. But in actuality these are Jaina Bronze images[16A] as the hands in the images does not show any mudra. They probably belong to some Śvetāmbra Jain Tirthānkara as they are clad in a lower garment and the *Saṁghati* (dhoti) which reaches almost to the ankle is tied in a knot about the waist. A marked feature of these images is the broken right hand. They all are in standing posture and show a small male torso and body with a proportionately bigger and heavier head[16B]. They belong to the sixth century A.D. and M.G Dikśhit[17] and H.G. Śhāstri[18] have read a date on one of them which equates to somewhat between 538 and 548 A.D.

Almost all the Jaina Bronze known so far are cast by the *cire perdue* or lost wax process but the images under preview, however, lack the artistic effect of casting. The prevalence of Jaina images is also substantiated by, description of the flight of principal Jain images from Valabhi to different places of safety, when the fall of the city was anticipated.[19] The image of Chandraprabha (a Jaina Tirthānkara) shifted to Devpāttana (Prabhās Patan), of Vardhamān Mahāvira to Srimāla (or Bhim māla) in Rājasthān and of others to Kaśahrada near Ahmedābād, Harija and Śhatrunjaya.[20]

Apart from this, a gamut of material objects including seals, bangles, images, clay dies etc. have been discovered from the precincts of Valā and its nearby areas. Explorations at Gohilwāḍ timbo (timbo means a mound in Gujarāti), which is situated on the fork of the two rivulets Vadi and Thebi, near Amreli, the headquarters of the Barodā territory in Kāthiāwāḍ yielded a rich harvest of interesting relics. The site was excavated first by Dr. Hirānand Śhāstri[20A] and A.S. Gadre from 1934-35 to 1944-45 and again by S.R. Rāo in 1952-53. Amreli is situated just about 64 kms. east of Valā. Numerous antiquities consisting of terracotta images, carved and plain pottery, beads, carved bangle pieces, pieces of conch shells etc. have been unearthed from Gohilwāḍ timbo[20B]. A specially noteworthy find is a clay die bearing the legend 'Śri-Śilāditya', written in the late Gupta script, the letters being 1/8" in height[21]. In the absence of more details on the seal its date cannot be determined. However, it is assigned to Śilāditya I *alias* Dharmāditya (c. 590-615 A.D.) based on the testimony of *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-MūlaKalpa*[22]. The site appears to be an important administrative centre under the Maitrakas as can be inferred from this clay seal. Further explorations at the site in 1938-

39 yielded many inscribed thick pot sherds. These pots sherds are probably the fragments of earthen vessels used by some Buddhist monks as can be surmises from the engravings of the legends and names of individuals or localities from which they hailed. These fragmentary inscriptions (pot sherds) are palaeographically, not posterior to seventh century A.D. and are assigned to the Maitraka period.[23]

M.R. Majumdār also discovered a small bronze image of Buddha from Bhuj in 1957[24] (preserved in Fergusson Museum, Bhuj). The bronze measures 20 cms. for the standing Buddha in the *samabhanga* pose with the right hand in *abhaya mudrā* preaching no-fear. On stylistic, as well as on palaeographic grounds the figure appears to belong to the hey day of Buddhism in western India during the reign of the Maitrakas, in seventh century A.D., when Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim visited western India. The discovery of this bronze along with a lovely specimen of Gaṇeśa from Śāmalāji[24A], as a part of Śiva Pañcāyatana belonging to the Maitraka period; the beautiful Jaina bronzes from Akotā hoard[24B] near Barodā; Pindawara or Vasantagarh Bronzes[24C] (though the last two mentioned cannot be directly linked with Maitrakas, they certainly belong to the Maitraka period, i.e., sixth-seventh century A.D.), testify to the existence of the 'Art School of Ancient West' in the late 6th and early 7th century A.D[24D].

Another Buddha image, from Valabhi of sixth-seventh century A.D., was reported by Mahendra Singji[24E]. This image is also in the standing posture and is depicted in *Varada-hasta* (boon-giving pose). Besides this, a specimen of a non-sectarian seal has also been found from Valā. It measures 10 cms. × 6.25 cms. and is made of black

clay. Five incomplete lines written in Sanskrit on this seal, have not been read yet[24F]. A seal of Puśyena a mythical king has been unearthed from the ruins of Valā. Though the date of the seal is uncertain, the close resemblance of the letters of this seal to those of the land grants of Dhruvasena I of Valabhi is to be *nota bene*.[25] King Śilāditya I identified with Dharmarāja mentioned in *Āryа-Mañju-Śri - MūlaKalpa* is credited with the erection of a Buddhist Vihara at Valā and installation of Seven Buddha images therein, in c. 595 A.D.[26] But this, alongside suggestions, given by Shri Kalyāṇrāi Jośhi, that places like Dharvad, Dhrasanvel with ancient relics and mounds, enshrine in them the relics of the Maitraka rulers Dharapatta or Dharasena and Guhāditya are archaeologically, conjectural.

A fragmentary stone inscription belonging to in c. 566 A.D., was discovered from a village Bankodi in the Rāval District of the former Navanagar State. It records the name of Guhasena and on paleographic grounds, is assigned to this Maitraka king.[27] It is neatly engraved in straight lines on a polished surface of a slab and resembles other stone inscriptions from Valā. Unfortunately no historical information is gathered from this inscription as it is in fragmentary condition. A full size stone image of Buddha in sitting posture, popularly believed to be the celebrated sage Dhundhali Mal whose curse is said to have caused the destruction of Valabhi, was discovered from Iśalva hills in the vicinity of the village Thapnath which is about six kms. south of Valā.[28]

B. Architecture

We learn from Maitraka grants that during their period western India witnessed great progress in architectural activities. Apart from the construction of various temples the records also refer to vihāras, a

fact which is also substantiated by literary evidences (e.g. Yuan Chwāng's account). But very few monuments of the period under review have survived and not a single structure is said to have emerged from the debris of Valā, the Maitraka capital, thus far. This is quite astonishing considering the fact that the Maitraka kings were very powerful rulers. The only probable *reason dêtre* that can be assigned is that upto 9th century A.D., with the exception of one temple, all other temples, religious buildings and houses in Kāthiāwāḍ and Gujarāt were made of mud, brick and wood and not of stone.[29]

Peace and prosperity prevailed in Gujarāt under the Maitraka rule. Under these favourable circumstances art and architecture flourished. Maitraka grants refer to a number of religious edifices both the Brāhmanical and the Buddhist, built by the Maitraka rulers and members of the royal family. Among the Brāhmanical shrines the Śiva temple at Vatapadra in Saurāṣhtra (before c. 609 A.D[29A].) and Bhārti Svara Temple (c. 631 A.D.), existed[29B]. A temple probably of the Sapt-mātraka existed in about 676 A.D. at Madasāra-sthali in Saurāṣhtra[29C]. A Sun temple is inferred to have been extant at Vatapadra in 609 A.D[29D]. and another one at Bhadraniyaka in 611 A.D[29E]. in Saurāṣhtra. As an *obiter dictum*, temples of Mother Goddess can also be mentioned, as the temple of the goddess of Kotammabikā at Trisangāmaka was in worship in 639 A.D[29F]. and was, in fact, built during or prior to the times of Droṇasiṁha, whose earliest copper plate grant (502 A.D.)[30] refers to the temple of Bhagavati Paṇḍuraṟya at Hastavapra (Hathab) in Saurāṣhtra.

Numerous Buddhist monuments, too, were build in the Maitraka kingdom. These Buddhist monasteries and viharas located in Valabhi and its surroundings, multiplied and blossomed into great

seats of learning. About fifteen vihāras at Valā are mentioned. M.R. Majumdār[30A] has listed fourteen Buddhist vihāras from Valabhi while H.D. Sankalia mentions ten such vihāras[30B]. According to Hsüen Tsang, Valabhi had about one hundred Buddhist monasteries[31]. A few viharas worth remembering are, the Bhatāraka Vihāra probably built by Senāpati Bhatāraka himself, at Valabhi; the Dudda Vihāra built by Princess Dudda, sister of king Dhruvasena I. This monastery was founded in the beginning of sixth century A.D. (502 A.D.). Śilāditya I built Śilāditya vihāra at Vamśakata in Saurāṣtra in about 605 A.D. Lady Mimma, who probably was a citizen of Valabhi built the Abhyāntarika vihāra in the vicinity of Bhatāraka vihāra in 567 A.D. Bappā-paditya vihāra was constructed by Sthirmati. It has been suggested that it might be located in the group of the ancient Buddhist caves at Talaja in the neighbourhood of Valabhi. The excavations at Devnimori stūpa in Northern Gujarāt have brought to light some Valabhi links.[32]

Temples sacred to the Jainas also existed in this period as can be gleaned from literary sources. The temple of Śhāntinātha at Valabhi was in existence around 601 A.D.[33] At Vardhamāna and Dostatika there existed the temples of Pārśvanāth and Śhāntinātha. The episode of transfer or flight of the images of various Jaina Tirthānkars from Valabhi at the time of its destruction is well known. Besides excavation of Jaina caves at Dhank (situated about 48 kms. north west of Junāgarh) also show cultural affinities to the Maitrakas[34] (though they belong to an earlier period).

None of these monuments is known to have survived. But extant buildings (especially the Brāhmanical ones) attributable both stylistically as well as on the basis of pottery, to the period are

available in good number. The Maitraka style had its roots in the further past and the most important characteristic of this early regional architecture was its stark simplicity and its lack of any artistic pretentions. Maitraka temples possess regional features in their ground plans and simple squares and rectangles invariably form the basic pattern of the ground plan. The closed hall is often undifferentiated from the main shrine.[35] The elevation of temples also offer interesting and individual features. The walls of the early Maitraka sanctum are almost invariably featureless.[36] The top of the wall is relieved by *valabhi* (a wagon-vault or keel roof) and a minor *kapota*. There are normally no true ceilings. A method of long, log-like stone slabs placed at intervals, with a second spanning the intervening spaces, is employed in covering the interior. The existing Maitraka temples are very simple, very meagrely decorated, deprived of any ornate style and whatever exists is not of any aesthetic value. It consists of simple architectonic, geometrical and floral elements. As mentioned above, the monuments at Valabhi, have vanished; nothing is left of the splendours of that metropolitan architecture. Most of the existing shrines in Saurāṣhtra are found at village scale, e.g., at Gop, (which was probably a district headquarters in earlier Maitraka times). If it is assumed that they fully represent the art of the Maitraka period and if the buildings at Valabhi also revealed the same style, it in itself proves that the art traditions of Maitrakas were inferior to those which lay outside their domain. Their art and architecture lacked aesthetic value[36A].

Though the architectural evidences of various shrine and temples are very few, the fact that most of the temples of the period under review were private temples[37] (as early worship of the

Brāhmanic gods was essentially private, performed in the seclusion of one's home), is also worth remembering.

C. Epigraphy

The study of inscriptions is known as epigraphy. Ancient writings on clay, stone, metal, wood and such material that is more durable than paper or parchment are regarded as epigraphs. Inscriptions are the most authentic and indispensable source of information for the knowledge of ancient times. They are a store house of knowledge in all fields of human life and culture in general. It is such a branch of history which facilitates and serves as a link bridge between the past and present. Being encyclopaedic in nature, this wealth of our cherished heritage requires an intense and thorough study which in turn help revealing the kaleidoscopic nature of our past history. The interpretations based on documents lend credibility to our history *a fortiori*.

The state of Gujarāt is profusely rich in the heritage of epigraphical records. Though some inscriptions were found and mentioned even earlier, a systematic study of inscriptions with an objective of enhancing our historical knowledge and their fresh interpretations on scientific lines commenced in Gujarāt only during the first half of the nineteenth century. The regime gained pace after independence and very significant epigraphical discoveries in Gujarāt have come to light since.

As for the historical period, the Girnār Rock Edicts (c. B.C. 225) of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka[37A], represent the earliest known inscriptions in Gujarāt. A legion of land grants of the Maitraka kings have been unearthed thus far and they form the most copious source of information for the understanding of their history. The land grants

of the Maitrakas of Valabhi came to the fore as early as 1835 A.D. when W.H. Wathen[37B] succeeded in reading one of them. The archaeological remains excavated from the ruins of Valā even when viewed *tout-en-semble* have not been able to place the things *in situ*. They tell us absolutely nothing of its past glory. The Maitraka kings and their kingdom are only known by their land grant inscriptions which were issued in the form of royal charters. Till now more than hundred and twenty copper plate land grants and a few stone inscriptions of the Maitrakas have been published. Each year more and more copper grants of this dynasty come to light and a systematic and more intensive excavation at the site of Valā can definitely yield more such records.

These land grant charters of the Maitrakas, record donations made to the Brāhmans and to the viharas and in some cases to private individuals. But the rare examples of the latter proves that these grants were made basically for religious purpose. The donations generally consisted of villages, fields, vāpis, kūpas (wells) and vāpikas. In one case, however, a *rupakā*[38] or a silver coin was granted to be given daily from the state treasury, a gift which is synonymous of the term *Nibandha*[39] of the Dharmśāstras[39A]. They were issued by sixteen of the twenty kings, who occupied the throne of Valabhi. They date from 502-766 A.D. Since the early 1830's, a number of inscriptions of the Maitrakas have been detected, read, edited and published in various journals like Indian Antiquary, Epigraphia Indica, Journal of the Asiatic society of Bengāl. Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic society etc. (Please refer to Appendix A).

Though stone is used as the common material for the Maurya, kśatrapa and Gupta inscriptions from Gujarāt, it is quite curious to

know why the Maitrakas preferred copper when stone is abundant in Kāthiāwāḍ. Very few stone inscriptions (including two fragmentary inscriptions of Guhasena and ten stone inscriptions from Valā which have been already mentioned), have surfaced in course of explorations. The latest addition to the list is as recent as 1980-81.[40] This lack of the use of stone and the Maitraka preference for copper is astonishing. A few reasons for this are imparted though. One such theory, already mentioned, says that with one or two exceptions, uptill the ninth century A.D. all over Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ, brick and wood were the only materials used in temples and religious edifices; and stone as a permanent material was not in vogue. Another view[41] suggests that due to changes in social and religious conditions in the pre-medieval times such a transition occurred*. With Vajrayāna branch of Buddhism gaining prominence, various idols and images made of stone and metals, inscribed on the base of the image with the name of donor, were built for worship. In Hinduism also due to the influence of Panchrātra philosophy, donations gained importance. Neither Buddhism nor Hinduism, now needed the erection and engraving of any stone inscription for religious propaganda, as either for the construction of a temple or for making of an image, and their maintenance a piece of land and money was required. For this purpose copper plate grants were issued wherein the donor after specifying the details of the land or object granted, gave it to the donee, who kept it in his safe custody to be used by him and his successors. For these sort of private donations or endeavours the

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* The actual reason for this is that most of the inscriptions of the Maitrakas are land grants and these can not be engraved on stone and given to the receiver hence copper plates were used which can be given by the donor king to the donee as a proof of ownership.

copper plate grants fitted the bill. The fact that copper was selected of all the metals was possibly due to its durability. It was also recommended by the Dharmaśāstras[42] and Skandapurāṇa[43]. An idea of the importance of these charters for the donees, can be well imagined from the fact that in the ruins of ancient Valabhi, copper plate charters have been found immured in the walls and foundations of the houses of the donees and their descendants, while in many places the charters have been dug out from the fields, usually hidden in small caches made of Bricks.[44] But this over emphasis on copper grants *vis-à-vis* stone inscriptions is rather unfortunate because stone inscriptions, more often than not, contain much more historical information that the copper plates.

The grants are inscribed on the copper plates as prescribed by the Dharma Śāstras[45]. People like Yajñavalkaya[45A] and Brihaspati[45B] have given full details of these type of gifts. Even the commentators on Yajñavalkya , like Aprārka[45C] and Vijñaneśvara[45D] (who is the author of *Mitākśarā*, a work of 12th or 13th century) have added to the details. Though these commentators and their works belong to a later period, they have helped us in formulating an idea as to the existing practice of drafting gift deeds in prescribed form and in turn, give an insight into the salient features of the Maitraka records. These copper plates are known by the technical term 'tāmra-Śāsana-dāna-patra' meaning thereby, plate of donatory grant inscribed on copper. These plates are *praśhastis* and as such they record the name of the king, with his predecessors, along with their virtues and heroic deeds.

The copper plates of the Maitrakas have been found at various times and places throughout Kāthiāwāḍ. They were issued from different places, though it must be said in the same breath, that most

of them were issued from Valabhi itself. With the single exception of the earliest known Maitraka grant which consists of only one plate[46], all other Maitraka inscriptions are written on a set of two thin rectangular or square, flat copper plates linked by two metal rings passing through holes (two in number about three inches apart) in the lower part of the first plate and the upper part of the second. The Valabhi plates are incised on one side only, the edges of which are slightly raised in the form of rim so as to protect the inscription. Of the two rings which are used to join the plates, one is plain and circular in shape with its ends joined in a knot. It is approximately 12.5 cms. in length and about 3.75 cms. in diameter. The other ring consists of a longer piece and form an elliptical or oval loop. Its ends are joined to the socket of the royal seal which is generally made of bronze. This metal was preferred to copper probably because on it a better effect of the seal can be discerned.

The seal which was, a badge of the religion of the dynasty and lent credibility to the grants attached to it, had generally an oval surface and a round back. The seal had the device of a well proportioned seated *nandi* or bull with the legend '*Śri Bhattākaḥ*' inscribed below it[46A]. It is quite interesting to note that legend on the seals of some royal families of the times does bear the name of the clan god or their flag as their emblem and not the name of the king who issued the charter bearing the seal. Thus the name of Bhatāraka, who was the progenitor of the royal family in question, was inscribed on the seals of Valabhi copper plate charters.

The size of the great mass of Valabhi plates cannot be reduced to any definite scale. Generally their size increases and falls into three groups : from Droṇasiṁha to Dhruvasena I, the size is 25 cms × 15

cms. from Guhasena I to Dhruvasena II it is 30 cms. × 20 cms. and in the third group, i.e., from Dhruvasena IV to Śīlāditya VII great fluctuations are apparent, the size varying from 30 cms. × 25cms to 45 cms. × 30 cms. The gradual increase in the sizes indicate not only the growth of power but also the age of the plates, as the later they are, more space is required to accommodate larger genealogical portions. The inscriptions are fairly thick, the letter vary in size for 0.312 cms. to 0.468 cms. though the average size of the letter is about 0.625 cms. The number of lines written on the copper plates varies from 24 to 78. The characters adopted belong to the south Indian class of alphabet but they have borrowed from the Northern alphabet as well. The engravings are deep and well executed, though not free from defects. The Maitraka inscriptions furnish an excellent specimen of what may be called the Saurāṣhtra or Kāthiāwāḍ alphabet of the sixth century A.D. The language is high flown Sanskrit prose of the classical period, full of ornamental phraseology, rhetoric and figures of speech. This is precisely why Valabhi records as compared to that of their contemporaries miss the living interest.

Thus the format of Valabhi grants is stereotyped and conventional as it never varies and is repeated *ad nauseam* in all the inscriptions. Fortunately, the stray inscriptions of other dynasties noticed in the region are free from Valabhi influences as most of them are in prose. This, in turn, indicates how little cultural influence the Maitraka regime had on the contemporary or later court epigraphy of Kāthiāwāḍ. But the fact can hardly be over emphasized as even in medieval times we hear of various dynasties using the Valabhi era for dating. Incidentally the copper plate grants of Maitrakas are dated in

an unspecified era (generally regarded as the Gupta Valabhi Samvat or Valabhi era.[47])

The Maitraka inscriptions usually begin with the auspicious formula '*Svasti*' which is some times preceded by the symbol '*Om*'. Then the place from where the grant was issued is mentioned along with the name of the dynasty of the donor. Now followed the chronology and genealogy of the Maitraka kings (donor's predecessors), with the description of their virtues and achievement in a highly ornate and eulogistic manner. The genealogy is traced from the founder, Bhatāraka, down to the donor king. In later grants, i.e., from the eighth king Śīlāditya I, however, the genealogy is cut short by dropping the four sons of Bhatāraka, and Guhasena, the next king is mentioned immediately after him. Next occurs the name of the place, village/villages or fields and objects donated. Next came the name of the donee, his gotra and the sect or the branch (i.e. Yajurveda, Vajrayāna, Sāmveda etc.), to which he belonged. The object or the purpose of the grant was mentioned next along with the description of privileges accompanying the grant.

Usually the donations were made to secure religious merit for the donor in the present and future birth as well as for the religious merit of his ancestors. Generally the donee was at liberty to use all the benefits of the gifts and successors and officers of the donor king were asked to preserve the donee's right at all costs. The grants were of permanent nature and were donated *ad-infinitum*, until the Sun and Moon endure, i.e., forever.

Next came the name of the officers who issued the grants, generally *mahāsandhivigrahākrita* and the executing officer of the grant or the *dutaka*. Details regarding the *lekhaka* or the writer of the

grant were given next. The *tithi* (date), fortnight, months and year were also mentioned. At the end of the charter the donor king signed his autograph which in some grants is merely expressed as 'Svahastomama' and in others as '*Svahasto mama Mahārāyaśri Dharsenasye*', where the name and titles of the king were included.

Prima facie it seems that the Maitraka inscriptions contain little historical data. But after proper scanning, analysis and gleanings it is quite clear that whether written from a historical point of view or not these inscriptions mention, quite incidentally, certain facts which are useful in reconstruction of the history of Maitrakas. In a way it is good, for like a consciously written history we are not likely to get a biased account. These *dāna śāsanas* contain *mitis* and years and hence they give dates. Apart from this, they give us information about the genealogies, gotras, customs and traditions, vedic śākhās, sacrifices, religious beliefs, vihāras, territorial divisions, administrative officers, geographical conditions etc. and help us in forming an idea about the extent of the empire, the state of the society, economy, religion, administrative set up and education prevalent in Western India during Maitraka times.

Valabhi plates give no indication of any external contacts established during their long rule, but the details regarding the property donated are very interesting. They give us an insight into the nature of land holdings, their size, existing economic and revenue systems, taxation laws and the distribution of the land grants. They also reveal some architectural progress in western India during this period. Through different inscriptions we learn about Goddesses Paṇduraja and Kottammabikā[48], Surya, Gaṇesha, Śiva and other gods being worshipped. These grants also throw welcome light on

Buddhist viharas present in the Maitraka dominions. One such grant refers to a library with large number of books, situated inside one of the monasteries.[49]

In spite of bearing a conventional outlook, the Valabhi inscriptions contain very few mythological allusions or comparisons of the kings with gods. This is quite extra-ordinary considering the fact that the inscriptions of Guptas, Rāśtrakutas and their other contemporaries had such comparisons in abundance.

But these inscriptions have some defects as well. After all, these epigraphs are not historical ones and are issued at the command of imperial authority. They are eulogistic in nature and more often than not the length of panegyric account over shadows the remaining contents. Moreover, many of them are full of mistakes. The style and content of the inscriptions is stereotyped. Therefore, they have not entirely suited the historian to illicit appropriate information from them. Still, despite all these limitations they have proved to be an important source for the study of the post Gupta period (from 5th to the 8th century A.D. of the history of western India).

D. Numismatics

In very ancient times in India, natural objects like seeds and beans and barley-corn served as *rati* and *māśha*, and all common measures of weight were derived from them. But there came a stage when we required a common and acknowledged medium for exchange. In due course one metal either by itself or mixed with others in certain proportion was utilised for preparing coins to serve as the standard and fixed medium of exchange. Here is an attempt to deal with the study of ancient Indian Numismatics on provincial lines

as have discussed and described the coins that were current in Guajrāt during the Maitraka period.

The foundation of early coinage in Guajarāt was probably laid by the Greeks[50] who started also, for the first time, the practice of inscribing the coins.[51] They were followed by the Kushāns, Kśatrapas or Śakas or Śāhis, Guptas and Traikutakas. As Sankalia maintains, the super-structure was built by these succeeding rulers on the foundation laid by the Greeks.[52]

The Maitrakas who succeeded the Guptas in Gujarāt struck coins of their own but followed the tradition of the Western Kśatrapas, the Guptas and the Traikutakas. Excavations and explorations at various places in Gujarāt have yielded hoards of coins which belong to the Maitrakas. In fact, it has been proclaimed that of all the ruling dynasties of this period in western India, the coins known are mainly Maitraka.

The Valabhi coins were first brought to notice by James Princep[53]. Next they were considered by E. Thomas[54] and subsequently by Newton.[55] They made some progress at the emancipation of the Maitraka coins though without much success. The coins of Maitraka kings are said to have been very plentiful in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ, perhaps more plentiful than those of the western Kaśtrapas and Guptas, put together.[56]

The donation of a *rupakā* or a silver coin, to be given daily from the state treasury, as a gift has been mentioned in one of the land grants of Maitrakas. This donation of Dhruvasena Baladitya towards the maintenance of mother goddess, Tri Sringaka has already been mentioned. But the question as to whether such a coin, as mentioned

in the copper plate, really existed, still remains unanswered and unsolved.

A galaxy of silver and copper coins are attributed to the Maitrakas. They can broadly be divided into two distinct groups or types when studied on the basis of the fabric, weight, size, shape, form of letters, legends, bust of kings and the types of tridents. The first type resembles the Kśatrapa coins in fabric and epigraphy while the second set is modelled on Gupta coins. Though it is believed that the Maitraka coins known are mainly made in silver, they are not pure metallurgical and like most of the later Gupta coins they are found to be silver coated and not pure silver. Based on this and the fact that no Greek letters and no date of issuance[57] are traceable on these coins, they are regarded by some, as perfect counterfeit of the later Gupta coins.[58]

The former set of coins have a size varying from 1.25 cms. to 1.50 cms. and their weight varies from 26 to 31 grains. Out of about 30 coins of this type in the Barodā Museum, one weighs 31 grains, two weight 28.7, another two about 26 and the rest between 29 to 30.5 grains. The coins of the latter type which are nearly 50 in number have a size varying from 1.125 cms. to 1.25 cms. and they weigh between 28 to 31.2 grains.[59] Apart from the Barodā Museum which possesses about 80 Valabhi coins of silver and one of copper, nearly 19 such coins are available at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The Kśatrapa type of coins are categorised into several varieties according to their legends, some bear the name Sri Bhattāraka, some of Śarvva Bhattārka, some of Śaśa Bhattārka and some have only the name Bhattārka. A study of legends and busts of king on Valabhi coins reveals that they were issued by at least four (probably six)

different kings.[60] The Valabhi coins owing resemblance to the Gupta coins have no Greek legends and do not give the year of issue. On the obverse is depicted the head of the king that resembles that of the Kśatrapa rulers and faces towards the right with vague traces of a head-dress, locks and moustaches. On the reverse the Maitrakas introduced a new device of their own, known as the trident (*triśūla*). This device occupies the centre of the reverse side of the coins and is an emblem of Śaivism. In some coins, probably of the later type a battle axe (*parśu*) is also added. The trident on the coins may be divided into two categories, on this basis (i) a trident with two dots in place of handle, and (ii) a trident with a battle axe attached to the handle. Now, G.V. Āchārya[61] suggests that the axe is an emblem of Parśurāma and hence a symbol of Vaiṣnavism denoting the spread of the faith. Mrs. Virji, however, thinks that the argument may be advanced in favour of Śaivism also, as Parśurāma happened to be a great devotee of lord Śiva, as narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa.[62]

This device, in either case, is surrounded by a legend in the current Brāhmi script. The legend runs with the edges of the coins and is mostly written in semi-circular mode. All the early attempts at the decipherment of the jargon on the legend ended in fiasco and the legend on the Valabhi coins has been subject to an interesting controversy for those interested in numismatics. It has existed on the coins since the time they were brought to notice by Princep. Several attempts have been made to decipher the legend on these coins[63], by renowned scholars like E. Thomas[64], Newton[65], Cunningham[66], G.V. Āchārya[67], V.V. Mirāshi[68], B.L. Mānkad[69], R.N. Mehtā and Suryavanshi[70], and J. Allan[71], but due to the debased nature of the characters on the legend they have not reached any definite

conclusion. Though different interpretations have been suggested as regards the legend it still remains only partially deciphered.

Different readings of the legend have been suggested by various scholars. While Princep was unable to read it, Thomas could read only *Rājno Mahākśharapasa*[71A], Newton read - '*Śri Śavya Bhatārakasa* words in addition and last word as "*Paramavityamaka*". He also succeeded in reading *paramāditya bhakta* after *mahākśhatrapa*[71B]. He took these coins to be of Valabhi on the basis of the word Bhattārka[71C]. This clue was next taken up by Cunningham who identified this Bhattārka with 'Senāpati Bhatārka', the founder of the Maitraka dynasty. Cunningham also read the name of 'Dharasena': (eldest son of Bhatārka) on some of the coins and this lend credence to the theory that coins were minted by various Maitraka kings[71D]. But this reading was doubtful and Cunningham himself declared them to be tentative.[72] At last an epigraphist from Gujarāt, G.V. Āchārya, finally read the legend in 1937 and gave the final reading on these coins (based on both types) as *Rajno Mahākśatrapa - Dharanudhyataka Samara Saha Śri Śarvva Bhattārkasa*[73]; V.V. Mirāshi has read the legend as *Rajno Mahakśatrapa Paramādityabhakta Mahāsamanta Śri Śarvva Bhattārkasa.*[74] The nature of the debased characters is such that it forced Cunningham to remark that "at least one half of the symbols are mere upright strokes with a knob at the top like a common pin[74A]."

The latest and probably the minutest examination in this regards was, however, conducted by H.G. Śhāstri and K.J. Virji, at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. They achieved some success in deciphering the legend and translated it as, "this is the coin of the illustrious, the Śaivite, Bhattārka, the king, the great kśatrapa, the

Lord, and the devotee of Maheśvara[75]". They took the term 'Śarvva' as meaning Śaivite or worshipper of Lord Śiva and quite in accordance with the views of scholars like Newton and Cunningham, equated this Bhattāraka to the 'Senāpati Bhatāraka', founder of the Maitraka dynasty. Mrs. Virji also maintains that Bhattāraka was the proper name of the founder of the dynasty as well as the royal title of the Maitraka kings, and at times even of religious heads[76]. The very fact that a plethora of such coins is found among the ruins of the old city of Valabhi, apart from suggesting that Valā was the capital of the Maitrakas, *ipso facto*, proves that they were issued by the Maitrakas themselves.

But their views have not been accepted by all and sundry. Scholars like A.S. Altekar[77], S.B. Rājyagor[78], R. C. Majumdār[79] in general and V.V. Mirāshi[80] in particular have raised serious doubts about this theory. While the former three are inclined at identifying Śarva-Bhatāraka as a probable ancestor and a remote relative of Senāpati Bhatāraka believing that Śarva Bhattāraka issued the Kśhatrapa type of coins, after defeating Rudrasinha III[φ], the Kśhatrapa king in 360 A.D.[81]; the latter (V.V. Mirāshi) though subscribing to the above views goes to the extent of saying that the Maitrakas of Valabhi did not have the coinage of their own and adopted this coinage of Śarva Bhattāraka as their state currency[81A].

A coin of the Śarva Bhattārka was discovered from the repaired portion of the Mahāstūpa at Devnimori.[82] Excavations at Devnimori were conducted by R.N. Mehtā and S.N. Chowdhary. Still further, a

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φ Rudra Sinha III was finally exterminated by Chandragupta II in c. A.D. 399-400. As Śarva Bhattārka calls him self *mahāsāmanta*. he may have owed allegiance to the Guptas and might have assisted Chandraguta II in defeating Ruarasinha III.

small hoard of coins was obtained from Bilodara village in Mehsānā district. R.N. Mehtā and B. Suryavanshi studied the coins in 1965 A.D.[83] The coins numbering 53 were tarnished but had a good core. Of these 53 coins, 47 belong to Śarvva Bhattāraka and 6 to Śaśa Bhattāraka. They were struck from 38 dies. The legends on the coins of Śarvva Bhattārka showed that he was a devotee of sun while in case of Śaśa Bhattārka they depicted him as *parmādiṭya bhakta, Mahāmaheśara* and *saktasa*. It seems therefore, that he worshipped all the three deities.

If the readings of names on these coins be accepted along with the fact that the term Bhattaraka cannot be taken as Bhataraka, it lends support to the views of V.V. Mirāshi wherein he states that the proper name of the king who first struck these coins was 'Śarva'[84] and the term Bhattāraka was a mere title. Mirāshi further asserts that palaeographically Śarva flourished about 400 A.D. and he assumed the title of king[85] as against Bhatāraka, the founder of Maitraka dynasty, who always used the title 'Senāpati'. Thus the identification of Śarva Bhattāraka with the founder of the Maitraka dynasty is doubtful.

Few scholars like A.M.T. Jackson[86] and M.R. Majumdār[87] believe that Śarvva Bhattāraka was a descendant of Senāpati Bhatāraka. He was a Mahāsāmanta in the beginning, but became independent later on. Their view is of course erroneous. The question of Valabhi coins was discussed by Bhagwānlāl Indrāji[87A]. Though Dr. Bühler[87B] subscribed to the views put forward in this article that the coins were Valabhi copies of Gupta currency, V.A. Smith[87C] disagreed

as he thought that they should be considered the coins of the kings whose names they bear.

The Maitraka coins are small, light, very rough and irregular in shape. They are examples of bad almost rude workmanship. The coins issued by the later Maitraka kings are even more worse. As for the present these coins are of limited help. They have no dates, the legend on them show differences and the corrupt inscription has baffled the attempts of several scholars at decipherment. The engravings are generally deflected and letters have been wrongly omitted, missed or repeated. The busts of various kings depicted on the coins are crudely engraved and no certain conclusions, regarding their personality, can be extracted. And to make matters worse, the coins are in a very bad state of preservation.

These coins have been mainly obtained from Valabhi and its vicinity but their issue is not limited to this area alone, as a number of such coins are found scattered in the whole of Saurāṣtra and Gujarāt. They have been found at places like Sihor[88], Kaira[89] and the whole of Kāthiāwār, Vādnagar[90] in Mehsānā district, Devnimori[91] (old Buddhist site from Gujarāt), as far as Satārā[92] in Mahārāṣhtra and Puṣhkar[93] near Ajmer and as recently as 1955 at Prabhās Pattan[94] in Gujarāt. Besides, this a unique coin has been obtained from Jāmnagar. It brings to light the existence of a Valabhi king (?) named Ramanadeva[95]. Expert numismatists are welcome to throw more light on this coin.

Though these coins are of little assistance in sketching the Maitraka history, we do extract some information regarding the religion of the Maitrakas, from them. The device of the bull, apart from the trident (both emblems of Śaivism), inscribed on the coins

prove that Saivism was in fact the popular religion for most of the time, under the Maitrakas. The coins also show the influence of earlier dynasties like the Guptas and Kśhatrapas in this regards as well as in other spheres. The partially deciphered legend reads 'Śri Bhatārka' and supports the fact that Bhatāraka was the founder of this dynasty. Besides, the discovery of a large number of these coins from the ruins of Vala and its vicinity lends credence to the assumption that Valabhi was the capital of the Maitrakas. The progressive deterioration exhibited by the coins further show that they were issued not by a single sovereign, but by a line of kings.

E. Literature

(i) Indigenous Sources

Information about the Maitrakas can also be gathered through contemporary literature. The literary sources are both Indian and foreign. While the classical accounts of the Hindus, Jainas and Buddhists constitute the indigenous literary source material for the study of the Maitrakas; literary evidences provided by the foreign accounts, of which the Chinese and Arab references are the most important, also does not lag behind in this respect.

The opulence of Valabhi was proverbial. The Maitraka kings were brave but gentle. Their heroism was matched by their catholicity of outlook. Their munificence flowed, impartially for all. Along with the political glory, the Maitrakas attained very high standards in the field of culture. These advancement brought about a cultural synthesis which was depicted efficiently by the literary activities of the times.

The indigenous literature, relevant from the Maitraka point of view can be ramificated into three parts, namely, Hindu or

Brāhmanical, Jaina and Buddhist. As for the Brahmanical or Hindu literary evidence pertaining to the Maitrakas, mention may be made of Daṇdin's[96] *Daśakumāracharita*, which is believed by some one like Jagan Nāth[97], to have contained the earliest reference to Valabhi, the capital of the Maitraka kingdom. The work incidentally mentions the story of a rich merchant named Gṛahgupta, who lived in this city (Valabhi) in Saurāṣhtra, and had a daughter named Ratnāvati whom a merchant's son, Balabhadra, resident o Madhumati, came to marry.[98] Again Saurāṣhtra found a mention in the sub story of Nimbāvati[99], corresponding to the present Kāthiāwāḍa upto the river Mahi in the east with its capital at Valabhi, the seat of Maitraka kings. Further reference as to the city, known for navigational activities, though not being a sea-port, are provided in the same work.[100] Besides this, *Daśakumāracharita* along with Daṇdin's other notable work Avanti *sundari kathā*[100A] contains significant geographical details as regards western India. Cities and countries like Valabhi and Saurāṣhtra are described in context while referring to the different geographical units and divisions of ancient India.

Merutunga's *Prabandachintāmaṇi* is another work which throws light on the Maitrakas. Though written at a later stage in the fourteenth century (year 1361 of the era of Vikramāditya, i.e., 1304 A.D.), it has borrowed much material from the earlier writers and provides valuable information about earlier times as it has relied on traditions. As regards the Maitrakas it supplies us three stories,[101] one telling the origin of Śilāditya, king of Valabhi, one of the wiping out of the Śvetāmbras by the Buddhists from Valabhi and their subsequent resurgence under Māllavadin and the third of the origin of Raṇaka and the destruction of Valabhi brought about by him. Further, one section

of the work deals with the successors of the Maitrakas (e.g. Chāvaḍas)[102].

Somedeva's *Kathāsaritsāgar* also provides us some insight into the state of affairs under the Maitrakas. It describes Valabhi as a prosperous and reputed city, quite famous as an education centre.[103] Apart from imparting information about their geographical, political and social conditions it gives a brief account of some Vasudatta, a brahman and resident of Antervedi (Gangetic plain) sending his son Viṣhṇudutta to Valabhi for higher education at the age of sixteen[104]. It is interesting to note that the Brāhman of Gangetic doab sent his son to Kāthiāwār, instead of sending him to Vārāṇasi or Nālanda which would have been nearer to his home. This speaks volumes of the university of Valabhi.

The most important reference of the Maitrakas is contained in *Bhaṭṭikāvya* of Bhaṭṭi. The monograph is also named, according or its subject matter as *Rāmacharita*, *Rāvanavadha* and *Rāmakāvya*. Its author is Bhaṭṭi, who is often referred to, very respectfully, as Bhaṭṭi-Brāhman, Bhaṭṭi Pandita, Bhaṭṭisvami or Kavi Bhaṭṭi. Some authors have equated Bhaṭṭi with Bhartṛi on linguistic basis.[105] Hoernle seems to identify him with Vatsbhatti of the Mandsor inscription.[106] Bholen equates him with Bhattārka[107], the founder of Valabhi. Some others identify him with Bhatti bhatta[108], son of Bappa, who received a grant from Dhruvasena III, the son of Dharasena IV, in 653 A.D. But all these views seems to be based on false notions and have already been refuted by other scholars. The only thing one can say for certain is that the celebrated author flourished at the court of Dharasena IV[109] and composed this art epic under his patronage. The poem is interesting as Bhaṭṭi has illustrated in it the rules of grammar as given

by Pāṇini in his Aṣtādyāyi. The *terminus and quem* for Bhaṭṭi is regarded as 648 A.D., the last known date of the last of the four Śri Dharasenas of Valabhi. The poem written in twenty two cantos describes the history of Rāma.

Bāṇabhatta's *belles letters Kādambari* and *Harṣacharita* are both accounts of contemporary nature, since they are written under the auspices of Harṣa. They prove to be useful for the reconstruction of the society of sixth and seventh century A. D. and hence can be relied upon for providing significant information about the Maitrakas.

Next can be mentioned *Udayasundarikathā* of Soddhala[110]. It is reckoned among the best Champu kāvya in Sanskrit and contains much valuable information for the history of Sanskrit literature. He was born in a Kāyastha family of Valabhi. In his account he describes this city along with its king named Śilāditya. He further informs that Kālādiya, the younger brother of the king, was a brave and learned man and he defeated the king's enemy, Dharmapāla. Though the work is believed to be based on imaginary story it still provides us with some information about the Maitraka polity.

The traditional accounts of Sharyats, Bṛugus, Yādavas and other Āryan tribes in *Mahābhārata*[110A], the works of Pāṇini[111], Patānjali[112], Kutilya's *Arthśāstra*[112A], and the *Purāṇas*[112B] contain stray references to Gujarāt and help us in tracing the geography, ethnography and early history of the region. Among other works Dharmaśāstra[113] literature provides us with information pertaining to the rules of property, ownership, theoretical and philosophical aspects of *dāna*, various norms prevalent in the society as well as throws light on some of the terms and social categories as mentioned in the Maitraka epigraphs. When evidence is scanty as far as the Maitraka

society is concerned the information provided by the Dharmaśāstras come in handy[114].

The indigenous Jaina literature also shed welcome light on Valabhi and the Maitrakas. In fact the city Valabhi was known to the Jains long before the establishment of the Maitraka rule there. This can be surmised from the traditional accounts related to the origin of the Śhwetāmbara sect in Valabhi in 79-80 A.D.[115] or 82-83[116] A.D. The redaction or the restoration of the canonical works (*Siddhānta*) was done at Valabhi in 300 or 313 A.D. in the council of Jain monks held under the presidentship of Nāgārjuna Suri[117]. Another redaction was prepared in the council held at Mathura under Skandila, about the same time. But the two redactions were not collated and their collation was done in a later council held at Valabhi under the presidentship of Devarddhiganikshama Srāmana in about 453 (or 466 A.D.)[118]. But many scholars do not subscribe to this date and connect the event to a later date. The *Kalpasutra*[119] in its present form was compiled at Valabhi during the reign of Dhruvasena I. Apart from providing geographical data, a mention is made of the death of the son of king Dhruvasena I, in the text.

The *Śatrunjaya Mahātmya*[120] was written at Valabhi, by a Jaina teacher Dhaneśvara[121], who describes himself as the tutor of king Śilāditya. The work was compiled during the reign of Śilāditya I. Jinabhadra Kśamaśrāmana completed his work *Viśeṣavaśyaka-bhāṣya*[122] in the city of Valabhi, in the reign of king Śilāditya I. Jinadasagani Mahāttara wrote the curni commentaries on *Nandisūtra*[123] in the time of Maitraka king Śilāditya III. Māllavadi Suri of Valabhi wrote his important work on Jaina logic, the *Nayaćakra*[124]. Mention may also be made of the *Tāppāgachchhā-*

pattāvali[124A] of Jinaprabhasuri and *Bhadrabāhucharita*[124B] of Ratnanandi. In the absence of epigraphical references to the existence of Jaina religion, these texts come in handy and they have been used by previous writers to cite definite evidence of its prevalence in Maitraka times.[125]

The traditional Indian Buddhist accounts are also worth mentioning here. Besides providing some gleaning into the Maitraka polity and their dynastic history, these works throw welcome light on the Maitraka society and their religious and educational set up. A Buddhist work *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-MūlaKalpa*[126], contains references to king Śilāditya Dharmāditya of Maitraka lineage and his successor Chapala (Kharagraha). The work describes the caste of the Maitrakas as well as the extent of the territories of their empire. Accordingly Śilāditya is mentioned as the king of the territory from Ujjain in Eastern Mālwā upto the west country on sea, i.e. Kutch. He is depicted as the king of the Ladas, i.e., what we call Gujarāt and of Valabhi, i.e., southern Kāthiāwāḍ. Further the text indicates that the Maitrakas maintained a navy and sheds light on the maritime activities of the Maitrakas along with their overseas trade.[127]

The famous Buddhist monks Guṇamati[128] and Sthirmati[128A] wrote their famous treatises and commentaries while residing in a monastery at Valabhi. The former was in fact a native of Valabhi and spent the greater part of his life there.

(ii) Foreign Sources

Among the foreign literary evidences, the Chinese accounts are regarded as the most important source of information for the reconstruction of the Maitraka rule. As can be seen from above, the indigeneous literary works also supply useful informations in this

regard, but the references made to Maitrakas in general as offered by these works are only occasional and incidental. In the wake of such circumstances, where direct literary evidences on Maitrakas are quite few, the accounts left behind by the Chinese travellers, Yuan Chwang an I-tsing assume added significance.

The testimony of Yuan Chwang[129] is contemporaneous in nature as it is written during the Maitraka times. The work deals comprehensively with Maitrakas and their life. The Chinese pilgrim travelled throughout India in the seventh century A.D. and visited Valabhi, the capital of the Maitrakas, during the reign of the eleventh king, Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya[130], whose rule has been dated between c 627-641 A.D., on the basis of epigraphic evidence. The pilgrim visited Valabhi (*Fa-la-pi*) in about 640 A.D. He gives a vivid account of the city and besides mentioning the geographical conditions and the circumference of the city also provide important information regarding the extent of Maitraka dominions. He refers to the prosperity of the people of Valabhi, the lofty buildings, and describes it as a busy port where people flocked from far and near and valuable products of distant regions could be found here.[131] He indicates that the soil is rich and fertile and production of harvest abundant and therefore, population is dense. His testimony also provides an insight into the political relations of the Maitrakas with other dynasties and the character and ability of some of the rulers of this line. According to him Śilādiya I, Dharmāditya ruled Mālwā (*Mo-la-po*), sixty years before his visit to Valabhi. "This king possessed great administrative abilities and was a man of wisdom and learning."[132] About Dhruvasena II, the present king who is a nephew of king Śilāditya I, he comments "a man of lively, passionate and hasty nature with weak

intellect and shallow state craft". He further states that "quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to faith in the three precious things (ones), viz., the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha".[133] Yuan Chwang presents Dhruvasena to have had high esteem for Buddhism, as is evident from the donations and grants he made to the Buddhist viharas and monks. The testimony also deals with the relations between Harsa and the Maitrakas and throws light on matrimonial alliance between Dhruvasena II and Harṣa's daughter[134] and the quinquennial assembly (*Mokśapariśada*)[135] convoked by the latter (Dhruvasena II attended this religious assembly). Yuan Chwang described the Maitrakas as belonging to Kshatriya caste and he alone refers to great architectural activities during the Maitraka rule.[136] Every sign of any building at Valabhi has disappeared and in the absence of the existence of any structure from the ruins of ancient sites under Maitraka dominions we have merely the testimony of this important source to turn to. In the sphere of religion Yuan Chwang's views are bit biased as he is preoccupied in his descriptions, by his interest in his own religion, i.e., Buddhism and does not provide much information about other prevalent religions. He eulogises the benevolence, catholicity and tolerance (in religious field) of the Maitraka kings.

I-tsing,[137] another Chinese traveller, visited India around 672 A.D.[138], very closely after Yuan Chwang who left it in A.D. 645. His account describes the state of religion under the Maitrakas along with the different education systems prevalent under their rule and the mediums of instruction.

Other foreign Buddhist works worth mentioning are *Mahavaṁśa*[138A] (c. 4th century A.D.) and *Dipvaṁśa*[138B] (c. 6th century

A.D.) both of whom are of Sinhelese (Śrilanka) origin. They contain occasional reference to Lāta (Gujarāt).

Greek Accounts

Incidentally classical Greek accounts also refer to Gujarat and Valabhi. Ptolemy mentions Balai[139] and the kingdom of Balehkoora's[140]. These are taken to be corresponding to Valabhi. According to him Barygaza formed part of the kingdom of Lārike, which in Yuan Chwang's time, was only another name for Balabhi[141]. Again Ptolemy and the author of '*Periplus of the Erythracan Sea*' call Valabhi as Surashtrene[142] and its people are most probably intended by Pliny under the corrupt name of Suaratarata or Varetata.[143]

Arab Accounts

Albaruni[144] is the only Arab writer who mentions Balabhi (Valabhi). He gives details about the sack and downfall of Valabhi. He mentions the interesting story of feud between the Maitraka king and Raṇaka and the latter's treachery against the Maitraka kingdom.[145] He also throws welcome light on Valabhi era.[146]

Korean Accounts

During the seventh and eighth century A.D. about ten Koreans came to India from T'ang's China empire. Of them Hui-Chao[147] occupies the most important place because he was the only Korean who has left record about his travels.[148] Hui Chao wrote a record of his pilgrimage to India and Central Asia. About western India he tells us that their king possessed five hundred to six hundred elephants. The products of this land were cotton clothes. Barley, wheat and beans are produced in large quantities. He further writes "The king and common people respect and believe the three jewels.... The land is very broad and to the west it reaches the western sea.... At present,

the country is invaded by the Tajjikas (Arabs). Half of the country has already been over run." After critically analysing the facts and comparing them with the account of Yuân Chwang it has been surmised that the "West India" mentioned by Hui-Chao was probably identical with the Valabhi kingdom in western India.[149]

Even one Muslim record of Abul Fazl[150], in the times of Akbar, informs us about Valabhi and states, "at the foot of the mountains of Sirouj, is a large city, now out of repair, although the situation is very desirable. The port of Ghoga is dependent upon it." Now the vicinity of Ghoga is a sufficient indication to enable us to identify this ruined city with the present remains of Valabhi, which are only about 20 miles from Ghoga.

The present study of the Maitrakas of Valabhi is based on the synergy of all these categories of sources mentioned above.

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100A. Ch. IV, vs. 116, 161, 181 (Ujjain); Ch. VII, vs. 17 (Lāta Country); Ch. I, vs. 19 (Ānandpura); Ch. V, vs. 105 (Dwārika) etc.

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102. *ibid*, pp. 20 ff.

103. Somdeva's, *Kathāsaritasāgar*, Tarang 22 and Sloka 60; Tarang 29 and Śloka 75, ed. and trans. By Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1839.

104. *Ibid*, Tarang 32 and ślokas 42-43.

105. Roth, Rudholph; Bohtlingk, Otto; Kandarapaćakravartin; Naranyana vidyavinoda; Bharatamallika (in Mugdhabodhini). Also Majumdār, R.C. in *History and Culture of Indian People, Comprehensive History of India* (A.D. 300-985), Vol. III, p. II, (*HCIP-CHI*, hereafter), also supports the view, p. 962.

106. *JRAS*, 1909, p. 759. But the description is refuted by Keith, A.B., on the basis of grammatical blunders committed by Vatsabhatti, vide his work - *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 116.

107. In his preface to *Satakas*, p. 6., But Bhaṭṭi himself mentions at the end that king Śridharasena ruled Valabhi when the art epic was composed, "*Śridharasenu Narendrapālitayam*".

Bhaṭṭikāvya, Sarga XXXII, pp. 42-43, – In the colophon it is said that the poem was composed when king Dharasena was ruling at Valabhi

काव्यमिदं रचितं मया वलभ्यां
श्री धरसेन नरेन्द्रपालितायाम् |
कीर्तिरतो भवता नृपस्य तस्य
प्रेमकरः क्षितीलो यतः प्रजानाम् ||36||

108. Hultzsch, E, 'Kapadavanj Plates of Dhruvasena III, vs. 334', *EI*, I, 1892, pp. 86 ff. It seems improbable, since Bhaṭṭi wrote during the reign of Dharasena IV, who ruled before Dhruvasena.

109. Most authors like Jakson, A.M.T., in *B.G.*, p. 92; Trivedi, K.P.; Viadya, C.V.; Pārikh, R.C.; and Gupta, D.K., *op.cit.*, p. 43 support the view. But scholars like Dwekar, H.R.; Karandikar, M.A. (in *Bhaṭṭikāvyam*, p. XI-XII), and Majumdār, R.C. in *CHI*, Vol. III, pt. 1 seems to refute the view and ascribe the poem to Dharsena II.

110. *Udayasundari Kathā* of Soddhala, ed. by C.D. Dalāl and Krishnamāćārya, *Gāekwad Oriental Series*, no. 11, Barodā, 1920; Keith, A.B., *History of Sanskrit literature*, p. 336; also

Mirāshi, V.V., *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, p. 71ff;.

110A. II, 13, 5, 9; III, 88, 19 and 23; Sorensoen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārta*, p. 661.

111. Panini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, VI, 2, 37. In his other work *Gaṇapatha* Panini mentions Valabhi and carries the antiquity o the city to pre-Mauryan times. (Varanandi Gaṇa, cf. *Gujarāt State Gazetteer*, 1969, p 48).

112. Patānjali, *Vyākarṇa Mahābhaṣya*, ed. Kielhorn, Vols. I-III; (I, 1, 1, 31); *Word Index to Patānjali's Mahābhāṣya*, p. 103.

112A. Tr. by Rām Śhāstri, Mysore, 1919, p. 378; tr. by Shamāśhāstri, p. 50.

112B. *Bhāgwata Puraṇa*, I, 10, 34; I, 15, 39; VI, 14, 10; X, 27, 69; XI, 30, 18; *Viṣṇu Purana*, 4, 24, 68; *Kūrma Puraṇa*, I, 47, 42.

113. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I, 1, 2, 13-15.

114. *Bandhāyana Dharmasūtra* and *Baaudhāyana Gṛihya Paribhasasūtra* speak of people of Anārta as being of mixed descent. cf. Mukherjee, R.K., *Indian Culture*, 1935, p. 553 ff.

115. Dates are given by Devasenasuri in *Darśanasāra*, Verse 7, 21; *Bhāvasaṁgraha*, *Verse* 52, 188.

116. Jinesvara Suri in *Pramālakśhana*.

117. These Councils at Valabhi and Mathura are not so well known as the later council at Valabhi, but they are attested by the *Nandichurni* of Jinadasa (578 A.D.) and *Yogaśastra Vritti* of Hemachandra (1140 A.D.); also Muni Kalyāṇavijaya in *ViraNirvaṇa samvat aur Jain Kāla gaṇana*, p. 104-11; Majumdār, R.C. - *Vakatka Gupta Age, a new history of India*, Vol. 6, Lahore, 1946, p. 391.

118. The date occurs at the end of Kalpasutra. It was the year 980 (or 993 according to another version) of the vira era and corresponds to 453-54 A.D. (or 466-67 A.D.). But according to other scholars this council was held during the reign of Dhruvasena I (c. 520-550 A.D.) A detailed discussion of the subject is done in a subsequent chapter pertaining to the religion of the Maitrakas (Jaina portion).

119. Law, B.C., *Kalpa Sutra*, Ch. XX, '*Some Jaina canonical sutras*', p. 96ff.

120. A legendry Jaina work composed to celebrate the mountain of Śatrunjaya near Pālitānā. Rehatsek, 'Paper on Śatrunjaya and the Jains', *IA*, II, 1873, p. 195 ff.

121. *Śatrunjaya Mahātmya* i, 13-15, xiv, 283-86, 342.

122. *Puratana Jaina Vakya sući*, Introduction, p. 145; Jain, J.P., *The Jaina sources of history of Ancient India* - Jain, J.P. p. 170 and p. 275; *Jaina Sāhitya Kā Brahad Itihas*, Vārāṇasi, vol. III, pp. 130 ff; Majumdār, R.C., *CHI* op.cit. p. 826; the text was probably completed in 609 A.D.

123. Nānāvati, J.M. and Dhank, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

124. *ibid*, p. 13.

124A. Jinaprabhasuri, *op. cit.*, p. 89 ff.

124B. Ratnanandi, *Bhadrabāhucharita*, Chapter IV, verse 133ff.

125. Virji, K.J., *op.cit.*; Majumdār, M.R. *op.cit.*

126. *AMMK*, ed. Jayaswāl, K.P. in *An Imperial history of India* (c. 700 B.C. to 700 A.D.), Appendix, Sanskrit text. p. 24.

127. *ibid.*, p. 23-26, 43, 66-68.

128. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, vol. II p. 108-109; He wrote a commentary on *Abhidharmakośa* and he also was the author of *Lakaśhananusaraśāstra*.

128A. *ibid.*, p. 109.

129. Watters, T., *op.cit*, Vol. 1 and 2; Beal, S. *op.cit.*, vol. I and 2.

130. Fleet, J.F., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (Inscriptions of Early Gupta kings) London, 1888, p. 40 (Introduction) has rightly suggested that Yuan Chwang visited Valabhi in Dhruvasena's reign and not in Śilāditya VII's as suggested by others. The name of the ruling king given is Dhruvapatu (Tu-lo-po-po-tu) or Dhruvabhatta (Tu-lo-po-po-ta) who is identified with Dhruvasena II (*CII* hereafter; also Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, XI, p. 82 (*ASWI* hereafter).

131. Beal, S., *op.cit*, II, p. 266.

132. *idem*.

133. *ibid.*, p. 267.

134. *ibid.*, p. 269; also Watters, T., *op.cit.*, p. 242-44.

135. Sixth assembly of such kind held at Prayāga in 643 A.D., Majumdār, R.C., *CHI*, *op.cit.*, pt. 1, p. 265; *Gujarāt State Gazetteer-Bhavnagar district*, p. 52.

136. Yuan Chwang talks about a number of Monasteries being built at Valabhi during the time of the Maitrakas. cf. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 266-267; Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 246-247.

137. Takakusu, *I-tsing, A record of the Buddhist Religion*, London, 1896.

138. To some, the date is 678 A.D; I-tsing never visited Valabhi.

138A. Chapter VIII

138B. Chapter XV

139. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1927, Introduction, pp. xiii-xviii; notes by Majumdar, S. p. 385

140. *Idem*; *Tod, J., Travels in Western India*, p. 234.

141. *Cunningham, A., Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 273.

142. *ibid.*, p. 267; McCrindle, *op. cit.*, 1927, pp. 35-37, 136, 140, Periplus, no. 41, also Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 301.

143. Pliny mentions the *Horatae* – evidently a corrupt name ofor Saurāṣtra or Sorath – *Natural History*, Lib., VII, c. XX; Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 267.

144. *Tehkik-i-hind*, *Albaruni's India*, *2 Vols.*, London 1888, tr. By Sachu, E.C.

145. *Albaruni's India*, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 192 f. tr. By Sachu; also *Albaruni's India* by Rajnikānta Sharmā (Hindi), para 17; *B.G. op.cit.*, p. 94-95 and n.

146. Rajnikānt Sharmā, *op.cit.*, para 38.

147. *Buddhist Religion During The Tang Period* (unpublished Ph.D Thesis presented to viśvabhārati Śāntiniketan, 1955). cf. Jan Yun Hua, 'West India According to Hui-Ch'Ao's Record', *Indian Historical Quarterly* (*IHQ* hereafter), XXXIX, pp. 27-37.

148. Sram, J., *Hye Chao's pilgirmage to India*, New Orient, No. 4, Prague, 1961; *Kāshmir Research Bi-Annual, II* (Srinagar, 1961), p. 1-10.

149. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIX, *Jan Yun Hua, West India According to Hui Chaos Record*, p. 27-37. Hui-Chao visited the Valabhi Kingdom in 725 A.D.

150. *Ayin-i-Akbari*, II, p. 69.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL EXPANSE AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE MAITRAKAS

It has generally been regarded that history excludes from its ambit the study of nature and confines its attention to the story of man's evolution from humble beginnings to complex achievements. But nature also comes into the equation of history if it has anything to do with man.

In fact, man and nature constitute a complementary study. Ecological conditions figure greatly in history in the context of their shaping man's destiny and no human society could be expected to exist without ecological possibilities. Thus for a diligent study of the history of any region, a thorough knowledge of its geography is of utmost importance.

Geography is the stage on which the drama of history is enacted. The space element is central to the concept of history without which its real perspective would be lost, for it is incomprehensible for a prudent history student to fully follow the sequence of events until and unless he possesses an accurate account of the precise location of the various places which figure prominently in the narrative. Geography which helps us to fix the place, also determines the very framework of the narrative.

A general geography of a place includes both its physical and social environment, land, water, air, vegetation, soil etc. which are integral part of the physical environment. The social environment on the other hand comprises the distribution, density and growth of population, its demographic attributes, ethnology, caste, language,

religion and human settlements. Physical environment is thus the creation of nature while the social environment is created by man himself. The knowledge of both these environments is of specific relevance as regards the understanding of the ancient Indian history, which refers to territories, tribes, rivers, mountains and places whose names have long been out of use.

Physical conditions, such as climate, topography, water distribution, flora and fauna, and the type of organic life they create have an immence influence on the life and growth of man and his endeavours. Hence a detailed study of the geography and ethnography of Gujarāt would not be out of place at all.

The position of Gujarāt has to be considered in the first instance in the light of its situation with respect to India as a whole, of which it is a part. And thus, for an appropriate understanding of the geography of Gujarāt in general and Saurāṣtra in particular, in ancient India, one has to look at the modern conditions of the region, making proper allowances for the changes it might have undergone with the passage of time. Original materials for the study of geographical expanse, geology, physiology and topographical features, though scarce, are supplied mainly by, the contemporaneous texts on geography and geology; incidental references extracted from Indian works of a non-geographical nature; foreign accounts and inscriptions and coins.

The modern state of Gujarāt, as demarcated on the map of India, came into being, in its present form, with the bifurcation of the bilingual state of Bombay, of which it was a part till 1960[1]. In fact, it formed, politically, the northern part of the Bombay presidency a major portion of whose western sea-board it occupied. It is one of the smaller states of India with 6.1% of the area[2] of the Indian union and

4.9% of its population.[3] Located on the North-West coast of India. Gujarāt shares an international border with Pakistan in the north west. It has Rājasthān in the north, Madhya Pradesh in the east and Mahārāṣhtra in the south-east. Gujarāt has a 1,600 km. Long coastline on the Arabian Sea in the west, the longest for any state. Lying on the Arabian Sea cost, the state is situated between 20° – 1′ and 24°–7′ north latitudes and 68°–4′ and 74°–4′ east longitudes.[4] Physically, Gujarāt fills the north-eastern corner of western India presenting three of the four fronts of the other states of India – Mahārāṣhtra, Rājasthān, Sindh (Pākistān) – and one to the Arabian Sea.

This region, which is mostly peninsular, thrusting or petruding broadly into the Arabian Sea in between the Gulfs of Kutch and Cambay, is basically composed of two parts, the mainland of Gujarāt and peninsula of modern Saurāṣhtra, which since ancient times has been the core area of the region. The Gujarāt proper on the other hand is mostly an alluvial zone on the flanks of the Vindhyan-Arāvalli hills, while the northern boundary of the state touches Western Pākistān. In lands, it is bound by the Udaipur – Gwalior Region on the north-east, the Mālwā Region on its east and Maharashtra on the south.

Simply, the peninsular portion of Saurāṣhtra (or Kāthiāwāḍ), has the Gulf of Kutch on its north and north-west; the Arabian Sea on the west; the Gulf of Cambay and the coastal plain on its south-east; and a vast salt land to its north-east. The silt of Banas and other rivers alongwith the long lagoons of the Nal lake connect it with the coastal plain, which in itself is bounded on the north by the desert of Mārwar; on the north-west by the Great Rann of Kutch; on the west by the Gulf of Cambay and towards south (upto Daman) by the Arabian Sea. Thus viewing the region with a broader perspective, it seems to be

encircled on the North by the Great Thar desert and the Luni river; on the north east bythe Arāvali range and the Mewar and Mālwā plateaux; on the east lie the gorges of the Narmadā and the Tapti, with the Satpurā range in between; on the south by the Deccan plateau and the river Damana Gangā; towards the west by the Arabian sea; and on the north-west by the Rann of Kutch.[5]

The geological history that a region has passed through in the dim vista of geological time, ultimately determines its physical and geographical features. The wide expanse of flat alluvial plains and doabs of high fertility, watered by perennial rivers under a genial and mild climate; the long gentle and shelving coast-line of a hospitable sea affording several convenient anchorages; the absence of rugged rock terrains or wild sandy desert lands such as those that surround it on the East and North; the presence of an economically vibrant bay swept by unfailing periodic monsoons, are all physiographic feature impressed upon Gujarāt by the course of geological events it has traversed through.

Geologically, it is interesting to describe Gujarāt's position and structure. The northern part of the coastal plain of Gujarāt is of recent formation and belongs to the 'Post Tertiary' period, though rocks of the 'Upper' and 'Lower Tertiary' are found between Sūrat and Barodā, on the strips of the Satpurā Range which belongs to the 'Upper Cretaceous' and 'Deccan Trap'. The southern part from Surat to Daman is also 'Post Tertiary'. On the east and north-east, the coastal plain is bounded by the rocks of the 'Deccan Trap', which embraces the Satpurā, the Vindhya and the Mālwā plateaux. Traces of 'Archaen' rocks are found to the east of Barodā; the 'Purana' by the Arāvalli range. The geological formation of Coastal Gujarāt thus

explains the flatness of its plains both in the north and south, relieved by the solitary hill of Pāvāgarh. As regards the Kāthiāwār peninsula, the central tract belongs to the 'Upper Cretaceous' and 'Deccan Trap' period, while the narrow strip of coast line all round belongs to the 'Post-tertiary' period, and a small portion above the Mandar Hills to the 'Gondwānā and Marine Equivalents'. The northern portion, with a few exceptions, is flat, while in the south, is the majestic Girnār besides a few solitary hills.[6]

The structure of Gujarāt which is the result of its geological formation can be physiographically ramified into the following divisions : (I) The Rann of Kutch, (ii) The Kutch Peninsula (iii) The Peninsular Gujarāt or Saurāṣhtra and (iv) The Gujarāt Alluvial Plain. The Gujarāt reigon as a whole consists of numerous gulfs, peninsular ranns, creeks, fertile doabs, marshes, hills, plateaus and a coastal strip strewn with alluvium and miliolites. "The physical features suggest that in tertiary and post-tertiary times it (Saurāṣhtra) may once have been an island or a group of islands of a volcanic origin."[7]

The fertile doabs of the region are watered by numerous rivers, the most impostant being Tapti, Narbadā, Daman Gangā and the Mahi (in the southern coastal plain) and the Sābarmati and other small rivers like Banas, Saraswati, Rodhi, Rupen, Puspavati etc. (in the northern plains). Drainage in Saurāṣhtra present a radical pattern, for the rivers flow out from the central highland in all directions and finally merging either into the Gulf of Kutch or in the gulf of Cambay. A number of rivers like the Bhādar, Bhogava, Sukha Bhādar, Utāvli, Keri, Ghelo, Śhetrunji, Kālubhar, Mālan, Rawal, Saraswati, Ojat, Vartu, Sani, Ghi, Fuljar, Sasoi Rangamati, Und, Aji etc. fall in this category. The importance of the rivers of the country has tended to

give them a religious halo and sacred rivers are many in Gujarāt. Studded with holy places, shrines and temples, several hallelujahs have been sung in their praise and these rivers have formed parts of the *Purāṇas* and are celebrated in sacred *Mahātmyas*.

Climate is a significant factor which determines the organic resources of a region and the mode of human activities. It has almost a decisive effect on the nature of agricultural practices and the cropping pattern and on the livestock and the forest economy of the region. Because of its location between Rājasthān in the north and the western part of the Deccan plateau in the south, Gujarāt exhibits a varied climate. Climatically viewed as a part of India, most of Gujarāt, apart from its north western area (which comes under the semi-arid Steppe zone), generally forms a part of the Tropical Savannahs.[8] Irregular and intense rainfall alongwith the existence of dense forests in southern Gujarāt contributes to unhealthiness of climate proving detrimental to the production of food crops and hence this area is sparsely and unevenly populated. The central part of Gujarāt has no extremes of heat and cold, an abundance of fertile soil and plentiful rainfall, all favourable conditions for growth of edible and useful vegetation.

The natural vegetal cover in the region is dry thorny forest. Small trees or open scrubs characterise the dry segment. The dry scrub terminates into poor grass and bush in the northern coast of Kutch and Kāthiāwār. The influence of forests on the climate of Gujarat and the fertility of its soil is substantial. In ancient times, Saurāṣhtra was covered with dense forests. The Gir forests in the South and Barodā on the west coast are the most dense, but they contain no useful timber.

The soil of Gujarāt is generally alluvial except in the hilly terrains and is of six or seven kinds, viz., the deep black or regur soils, medium black, coastal alluvium, sandy loam, alluvium-sandy, desert (saline) sandy and the red and yellow soils (maily in the highland cores of Kutch and northern Kāthiāwāḍ). Gujarāt is very rich in mineral resources, e.g., lime-stones, lignite, bauxite, manganese, gypsum. It leads[9] the nation in the production of salt and agate, is second in calcite and third in China clay.

Demographically, the current population distribution in Gujarāt in a way confirms the evidence of history and physical geography. The coastal plains are obviously more densely populated, e.g., Kaira, Surat, Ahmedābād, Broach. In Kāthiāwāḍ, it is the ancient sites of Bhāvnagar (247), Junāgaḍh (277), Amreli (188) and Kheḍa (480) that have a population varying from 188 to 480 persons per square km., according to the 2001 census, whereas the rest of the peninsula is sparsely inhabited.

These salient features of the geographical setting of the present day Gujarāt leave no room for doubt that it served as the vanguard of Indian culture and civilization as well as a commercial ambassador even in the ancient period. In fact Gujarāt was one of the earliest settled parts of the country.

The location and composition of Gujarat is mainly responsible for its complex culture. By virtue of the existence of two gulfs, a long coast line and its proximity to the commercial and cultural routes to East Africa and Asia, Gujarāt has long been exposed to the movements of peoples and to cultural and commercial contacts with various other regions of the world. From very early times Gujarāt was renowned for very extensive maritime activities and it abounded with

a lot of well known ports like Porbandar, Veraval, Mangrol etc.[10], as early as the fifth century B.C. The maritime endeavours of the Maitrakas are also known from references of Yuan Chwang[11] and in the *Āryа-Mañju-Śri-Mūla Kalpa*[12].

Gujarāt, in ancient times, was an important port of the western sea-board[13] of India from Sindh to Mumbai. It was situated on the highway to sea and thus served as a major entrypot. But it was not always known by the name of Gujarāt[14] and *sensu stricto* it neither had any geographical individuality nor did it form one political unit. Traditionally, the region seems to have been sub-divided into three provinces, namely, *Ānartta, Lāta* and *Saurāṣtra*. The exact boundaries of these three sub-divisions are uncertain as they varied greatly during the course of history. Still, it appears that Ānartta corresponded to northern Gujarāt with its capital at Ānarttapura[15]. The country[16] extended from Pālanpur in north to Kaira in south and included Dwārika. Generally, the southern Gujarāt was known as Lāta.[17] According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* it conciled with southern Gujarāt and extended from river Mahi to the rive Tapti. Simply, the country south of the Mahi or at times south of the Narbadā up to the Purnā or so far as Daman was called Lāta. The rest of the country, *viz.*, the southern portion of the present Kāthiāwāḍ peninsula was called Saurāṣtra.

Saurāṣtra denoted the modern Kāthiāwāḍ.[18] In its widest denotation the term included the whole of Kāthiāwāḍ, in its narrowest only the southern part of Kāthiāwāḍ, known as Soraṭh[19] (Prākrit version of Saurāṣtra). It was bound in the north by Rājputānā, in the east by the spurs of the Vindhyas and the Satpurā ranges, in the south by Konkan and in the west by the sea. According to the *Bombay*

Gazetteer[20] it was originally the region of the Sus, Saurāṣtra[21] being its Sanskritised form.

The antiquity of the region of Saurāṣtra is not difficult to trace, as references to it abound in the ancient Indian literature and accounts of the Greek historians and the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang. Its earliest mention is found in Panini's *Aṣtādhyāyi*[22] and *Gaṇapatha*[23]. Then again we come across the Surastra tribe and their country in the *Mahābhārata*[24], the *Rāmāyaṇa*[25] (Valmiki's), the *Purāṇas*[26], Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*[27], Patānjali's *Mahābhāṣya*[28], *Bṛhat-Saṁhita*[29], Vātsyayana's *Kāmasutra*[30] and *Kāvyamiṁaṁsa*[31] of Rājasekhara.

The Saurāṣtra country (Pali –Surattha, Chinese-Su-la-cha) is also referred to in the *Bandhāyana's Dharmasutra*[32] where it is coupled with Daksinapatha (Deccan). According to a Jataka story, sage Salissara belonging to Kavitthaka hermitage left it for the Surath country and lived there on the bank of the river Salodaka with many sages in his company.[33] Another Buddhist *Jataka* by the name of *Sarabhanga*[34] mentions the Saurāṣtra country. Yet another Buddhist work *Petavatthu*[35] mentions a king named Pingala, who ruled Saurāṣtra as a subordinate potentate under the Mauryas. The country, as a matter of fact, came to be included in the Maurya empire as early as the reign of Chandragupta, for the Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of Rudradaman[36] refers to the former's viceroy, Puśyagupta, who constructed the Sudarśana lake. From the same inscription it is clear that it formed a part of Aśoka's dominions, as it refers to Tuśaspha, a Persian contemporary and vassal of Aśoka, who carried out supplementary operations on the lake.

As a sea-board of western India, Saurāṣtra was frequented by Alexandrain merchants from very early days, hence we have many

foreign notices of the region. The earliest reference to Saurāṣtra by foreigners are those of Greeks like Strabo[37] (50 B.C. – 20 A.D.) as Sarostus or Saraostos; Pliny[38] as Oratura or Horatae; Ptolemy[39] as Syrastra and Syrastrew. According to these Greek historians, after Aśoka and his successors, this busy and wealthy trade centre of western India passed into the hands of Bactrian Greeks. The unknown author of '*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*' calls it the sea-board of Arabia and refers to corn, rice, oil of sesamum, butter, muslins and coarser fabrics as its products.[40]

According to Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the seventh century A.D., the province of *Su-la-cha* or *Suratha*, was included in the kingdom of Valabhi. The circumference of Suratha according to the Chinese traveller was 4,000 li (667 miles). Its capital was stated by the same pilgrim to be situated at 500 li, or 83 miles, to the west of Balabhi (Valabhi, the capital of the Maitrakas)[41], at the foot of Mount *Yeu-Chen-ta* or *Ujjanta* (Pāli) or *Ujjyanta* (Sanskrit), which is another name for the Girināṛ hill that rises above the old city of Junāgaḍh.

In addition to these numerous literary references, we also have many epigraphic evidences of the Maitrakas which point out the geographical limits of Saurāṣtra. Thus, the Bantia plates of Dharasena II, dated A.D. 573, mention Kaundinyapura (Kodinar in southern Kāthiāwāḍ) of Saurāṣtra[42]. In the Bhāvnagar Grant of Dharasena III (A.D. 623), there is reference to Hastavapra-āhara, i.e., modern Hatab in Bhāvnagar state of the Saurāṣtra-Viśaya[43]. Some other inscriptions show that Vāmanasthali (Vanathali in Junāgaḍh state)[44] and sri Somanātha were included in Saurāṣtra[45]. From these references it is

evident that Bhāvnagar, Porbandar and Somnāth were the limits in the three directions of the Saurāṣtra country in ancient times.[46]

Having viewed Saurāṣtra from the microscope of the ancient Indian geographical evidences, it is now easy to form an idea of the territorial limits or the extent of the kingdom of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. The findspots of the Maitraka grants, the excavated sites and the places from where they have been issued and the places mentioned in the land grants, as well as the literary sources, whether it be the *DaśaKumāraCharita*[47] or Yuan Chwang's testimony[48], make it obvious that Saurāṣtra formed the core of the Maitraka Kingdom. The kingdom of Valabhi was originally situated in Eastern Kāthiāwāḍ peninsula but as they added to their pelf and power, the limits of their kingdom also expanded. Ujjaini was included in the east.[49] The northern boundary stretched upto Ānandapura[50], the modern Vādnagar, while the southern limit of the kingdom reached upto Bharukachchha[51] (Bhroach). The epigraphic records further make it explicit that the region between the Sāhya and the Vindhyas also formed part of the Maitraka kingdom.[52] On the basis of all these references it can be concluded that the Maitraka sceptre in south-east extended beyond the Narmadā and Satyapuḍā, and as far as the Sahyadris. The north-western limit was probably Kutch, described by Yuan Chwang as an appendage of Mālwā[53], which we know came under the sway of the Maitrakas. Some coins of the dynasty have also been found at Kutch, but this is not conclusive enough evidence for proving their sway over this region. The extent of the dominions of the Maitrakas was thus, not very wide. It included, however, a great part of Kāthiāwāḍ and Gujarāt, Kaira district, and some portions of western Mālwā also, as is apparent from some of their grants.

Furthermore, from time to time their conquests extended their sway upto the districts of Bharoch and Surat.[54] Overall, the Maitraka kingdom covered area from Arbuda (Mount Ābu) in the north to river Tāpi in the south, a length of about 448 kms. and from the Arabian Sea in the west to its eastern boundary at Avanti, nearly 768 kms.[55]

The renowned city of Valabhi[56], was the celebrated capital of the Maitrakas. This fact is attested by both literary and epigraphical evidences.[57] Not only a plethora of Maitraka land grants mention Valabhi as the place from where they were issued, but it is also referred to in other contemporary land grants[58] and in the Sanskrit literature, whether Brāhmanical[59], Jaina[60] or Buddhist[61] as the most prominent city under the Maitraka.

In modern parlance Valabhi corresponds to the town of Vala[62] in the Bhāvnagar district of Kāthiāwāḍ. Though now few kilometres from the Bhāvnagar Creek[63], Valabhi in ancient times was a prosperous and bustling port[64] in the Gulf of Cambay. Though the ruins were first discovered by Tod, he did not actually visited them. Later on Nicholson[65] visited them but found nothing remarkable there.[66] In the course of excavations, however, this capital of the Maitrakas has yielded a large number of copper-plate grants, thus leaving no room for doubt, that it was the centre of activity under the Maitraka rulers.

It may be contended, however, that Gujarāt as we know it physically, does not form a compact and a distinct region. The self same physiography of the land extends far beyond its frontiers. At best, Gujarāt could be regarded as a composite physical region. Linguistically as well, the state comprises a much larger area.[67]

From all available evidences it seems that Gujarāt was one of the earliest settled parts of ancient India.[68] The archaeological and epigraphical findings show that the people of Harappan civilization[69] were the first to occupy the region. After them the Aryan tribes[70] made Gujarāt their homeland. Before C. 1000 B.C. there were some scattered colonies of the Āryans near the Ābu Valley on the banks of Sarasvati and Narmadā rivers.[71] But the interior was full of aboriginals known as *Bhils, Kolis* etc. who were the sons of the soil[72], living alongside the Āryans in ancient Gujarāt. According to some scholars there also existed colonies of *Nāgas*[73]and *Asuras*[74] in various parts of Gujarāt.

The information regarding the various tribes and peoples as contained in the Epics and the Purāṇas is helpful in analysing the distribution of peoples in ancient India as well as their ethnic movements. This type of study, constitutes the backbone of the historical geography of ancient India, because during the period, the geographical names of large areas were mostly derived from those of ethnic groups who occupied them. In fact, in the early traditional accounts, geographical names occur in the form of tribal or ethnic names. This indicates that these tribes or ethnic groups were so much associated with a particular region that land and people became synonymous and thus like all early geography, the locality or country was known by the plural of the tribal name.

It can be safely suggested that a man's life is primarily influenced by the impact of his natural environment, *cetris peribus*. The composition of a society is obviously greatly affected by its locality. The structure of a place, its flora and fauna have a most important bearing on human evolution. Another important attribute of

natural position of any region is its accessibility and contact with the neighbouring regions. The picture which a student interested in regional studies forms about western India during ancient times, is that, from the remotest times it has been a busy field of action, reaction and inter-action of many an ethnic and linguistic force in the continent. Hordes after hordes of races and tribes had swept over its face with their peculiar socio-political and cultural institutions.

The location of Gujarāt is mainly responsible for its complex culture. Its western sea board and the estuaries of the rivers like Narmadā and Tapti as also the gulf of Cambay exposed Gujarāt to the maritime activities of other nations and its sea-front, *inter-alia*, became the gateway for the influx of people, ideas and cultures. Each of these hordes brought with it its own language, philosophy, arts and crafts, social and religious practices and historical traditions. The land gaps in northern Gujarāt, on the other hand, opened out its plains for the incursions of the predatory conquerors and invaders. Several refugees and immigrants, from the Śakas onwards, constantly entered Gujarāt also from this northern route, hence resulting in a fusion of heterogeneous traditions in the region.

Gujarāt had thus an exceedingly high degree of accessibility and it was so situated as to make its possession the means of controlling a major trade route or of commanding a large tributary area. Gujarāt was every man's land in history and every conqueror coveted it, every foreigner was jealous of it and every one was anxious to settle in it. This is quite logical if we remember that for miles together from beyond its borders stretch arid and semi-arid land masses which do not subserve as a desirable habitat of man. Every race, therefore, visited it and attempted to settle on its soil. A

transition area has usually to wheather such storms and Gujarāt was a region of transit for the whole country between the dry deserts of Sindh and Rājputānā and the marshy highlands of the Ghāts.

A geographical location like this when combined with historical circumstances definitely suggests that there must have been a very complicated mixture of blood and consequently a network of ethnological varieties existed in ancient Gujarāt. Many racial groups existed within its borders. The basic people, as mentioned earlier, were Harrapans. The Āryans, as far as our knowledge goes, were the first invaders to come and settle in this region. They poured in from the north and conquered the original inhabitants. Besides the Āryans, who came by land, a galaxy of foreigners like Persians, Arabs and Africans came by sea, mostly through the ports of Saurāṣtra[75], for purposes of shelter, trade and conquest. During the centuries before and after the christian era hordes of Central Asian Kusāṇas, Hūṇas and other tribes came to swell their numbers. These aliens settled in the province and became so mixed up with the Āryans that the Hindu Dharmaśāstras considered Gujarāt as a *Mleccha* (belonging to Heathens) country. The *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsana Parva*) mentions the Lātas, a Kśatriya tribe, as been outcastes because of non-relations with Brāhmins and treats them to be no better than the thieves (*Bahikas*). The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[76] places the *Yavanas* to the west of Bhāratvarṣa and further states : "He who goes to Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Surāṣtra or Magadha, unless it be for pilgrimage, deserves to go through a fresh purification." The *Baudhāyana Dharmasutra*[77] also refers to Kalingas, Avantis and Surāṣtras and considers the first two to be unholy. Again, the fact that Aśoka chose a *Yavan thera* named Dhammarakkhito[78] to act as a Buddhist missionary for the

western sea-board indicates a preponderance of foreign elements in the region.[79]

Coming to Kāthiāwāḍ, it must be said that we have few traces of the original race inhabiting it. And the one's that exist are merely contained in the old Hindu and Jaina writings or other similar records. Much reliance, however, cannot be placed on these semi-mythical works, which record that the earliest inhabitants were a race of demons.[80] According to one Purāṇic account[81] Yādava family which descended from Yadu, ruled from Mathurā. But after the death of the king Vāsudeva (the father of the great Kṛṣṇa and Baldeva), the Yādavas left their old capital Mathurā and settled at Dwārika. This change of capital was occasioned by the repeated attacks of Kansa (Kṛṣṇa's maternal uncle), Kālayavana, a Deccan chief, and Jarāsandha, the powerful ruler of Magadha. It is said that kālayavana followed the fugitive Kṛṣṇa and his companions as far as Saurāṣtra, but he was reduced to ashes by the fire from the eyes of the sleeping sage Muchakunda, whom he had disturbed, mistaking him for his enemy Kṛṣṇa.[82] Another Purāṇic legend states that the king Ānarta, who was the son of Saryati[83] (the first aryan to be connected with Gujarāt), and grandson of Manu, gave his name to North Gujarāt. His daughter Sukanyā was married to Cyavana (Bṛgu tribe) whose *āśrama* was on the Narmadā; while his son Revata, who succeeded him may be connected with Revā, the synonym of the river Narmadā. Revata's son Raivatā Kākudmin who gave his name to the mount Raivataka in Saurāṣtra, ruled from *Kuśasthali*, the ancient name of Dwārika. It is said that Baldeva (the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa) defeated Raivatā after marrying his daughter Revati and ascended the throne of Dwārika. Thus, from the ancient Purāṇas, we are able to gather a few putative

facts about Saurāṣtra in so far as they have a bearing on Sri Kriṣṇa's connection with that land of Hinduism.

The Surāṣtras as a tribe must have existed at least since the time of the *Epics*. According to Kautilya, the Surāṣtras formed a corporation of warriors and lived on agriculture and trade.[84] In the *Baudhāyana Dharmasutra*[85], the people of Saurāṣtra are said to be of '*Sanikirṇa Yonayaḥ*' , i.e., of mixed origin. But an ancient tradition ascribes the origin of the Sauryas of Saurāṣtra to a prince of the solar race.[86] There is, however, no corroborating evidence to connect the Soryas with the peoples of Saurāṣtra. The *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[87] and the *Kāvyamiṁansa*[88] of Rājaśekhara locate the tribe geographically to Aparānta or western India. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, as mentioned earlier and the *Brahma Purāṇa* associate them with the Suras, Abhiras[89], Aparāntas, Sindhu-Sauviras[90], Arbudas and Mālavas.[91]

Mythologically, the *Skanda Purāṇa*[92] refers to Valabhi in connection with king Sarayati, son of Vaivasvata Manu.[93] This brings us to the interesting question of the ethnic origin of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. The tradition[94] about the origin of the Valabhi kings as current among the Guhilots[95] (or Gohil or Sesodiās) of Udaipur, who trace their origin to them, is that king Kanakasena[96], of the solar family from Ayodhyā came first to Lohākot[97], and from there to Birnagar or Bairat[98] in Northern Gujarāt. He took possession of it from a local prince[99] in A.D. 144. Four generations later, Vijayasena of the same lineage founded Vijayapur and Vidarbha[100] and subsequently the family founded Valabhi (or Valabhipur).

Legends apart, historically also, there is a difference of opinion as to the origin of the Maitrakas. The scholars, thus far, have failed to dispell the clouds that have gathered around the issue of Bhaṭāraka's

tribe or race. The fact that none of the numerous Maitraka epigraphs make a clear mention to the race of the founder of the dynasty, does not help the matters either. These copper plate grants simply tell us that the Maitrakas were a war like tribe, distinguished for great power, whose centre of activity was Valabhi in Saurāṣtra. In fact, the opening expression of these inscriptions in itself has long been responsible for the utter confusion and speculation among scholars. At first the word 'Maitraka' in this expression was considered to have been derived from 'Mitra' and the compound 'Maitrakanam' was taken as meaning 'his enemies', with the result that the passage was wrongly interpreted as "(Bhatāraka) had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the wide extent of territories of Maitrakas who were endowed with incomparable courage"[101]. This wrong translation probably led scholars like Fleet[102], Bhagvanlāl Indrāji[103] and others to believe that the powerful Maitraka tribe, who were of foreign origin, was defeated by Bhatarāka whose family was indigeneous. This wrong reading was first corrected by V.N. Māndalik[104] and later by Hultzsch[105] and so Bhatarāka is now considered to be definitely belonging to the Maitraka dynasty. That Bharatarāka himself belonged to the Maitraka family, *ipso-facto*, negate completely the claims of the earlier scholars, as to the foreign origin of the Maitrakas.

Again, these scholars considered Maitrakas to be foreigners on the basis of their supposed connection with the Mihiras and the Mers (or Meds)[106] who were connected with the Hūṇas, an alien tribe. Their predilection for Sun worship also indicated towards their foreign origin. Though, both the terms 'Mitra' and 'Mihira' are synonyms for the 'Sun', the word Maitraka is never used in Sanskrit in the sense of a Sun worshipper.[107] Further, the fact that out of the

twenty Maitraka kings only one, king Dharapatta, fifth in the order of succession, is styled as a *Param-āditya bhakta*, or the worshipper of Sun, is sufficient to prove that the Maitrakas had no connection with sun-worship and hence were not of foreign origin.[108]

V.A. Smith[109] considered Maitrakas to be the feudatories of the Hūṇas while Nihārranjan Ray[110] thought of them to be an allied tribe with, if not a branch of, the Hūṇas. The *Bombay Gazetteer* on the other hand, states that the Maitrakas belonged to the Gurjjara race.[111]

Jagan Nāth equated Maitrakas with the word 'Maitreyakas'[112], meaning thereby, a particular caste whose business it was to praise great men and thus concluded that the Maitrakas were perhaps the bards of the Guptas. However, on the basis of *Manu Smrti*[113] and *Vaijayanti*[114] it is clear that the Maitraka tribe was distinct from the Maitreyakas in origin as well as in the profession of its members. *Manu Smrti* states that the Maitreyaka is the one who on appearance of dawn, sings praises of great men while constantly ringing a bell;[115] on the contrary a Maitra[116] was born of a re-married Vaiśya lady and a Vaiśya *Vrātya*.[117] On the issue of respective professions the former work is silent; but the latter represents the Maitrakas as people serving as worshippers in the Buddhist temples.[118] But grammatically the two words have different derivations. While Maitraka comes from Mitra, the word Maitreyaka comes from Mitra. Hence this suggestion also is unacceptable.

H.G. Śhāstri[119] connects the origin of Maitrakas, with 'Mitra', one of the four principal pupils of Lakuliśa, the founder of Pāśhupāta Sect of Śaivism. This branch of Pāśhupātas was known as Maitrya. Śhāstri equates Mitra and Maitrya.[120] The fact that the Maitryas were war like people and generally called their chief 'Bappā' tend to

support the claims of this theory. However, on the face of it, this seems probable but untrue. The reasons being that while the Maitrya Sect originated in South Gujarāt (Lāta), the kingdom of the Maitrakas was on the opposite side of the Gulf of Cambay. Again, it has been proved that the royal religion of the Maitrakas was not necessarily Śaivism.[121] The theory is, thus based on conjecture and is debatable.

If the Gehloti tradition regarding the origin of the Maitrakas is to be believed, it is clear that they were considered to be the best and the most ancient Kśatriyas. The Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang also describes the Maitrakas as Kśatriyas.[122] This claim is further strengthened by the fact that according to Bāṇabhatta[123], Harṣha Vardhana gave his daughter in marriage to the Maitraka ruler Dhruvasena II, precisely for this reason. Again the *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-Mūla-Kalpa* (a Mahāyānic work) represents them as the Varavātya Yādavas.[124] This Buddhist tradition is also corroborated by a Jaina tradition recorded in the *Śatrunjaya Mahātmya*[125] which describes the king Śilāditya of Valabhi as *Yaduvaṁsa Bhūṣhaṇ Maṇi.*[126] K.J. Virji has also accepted the Kśatriya origin[127] of the Maitrakas and she concludes that the Maitrakas belonged to the Yādava race, and their origin may probably be traced to the Mitra dynasty that ruled round about Mathurā.[128] This conclusion is supported by some scholars on the basis of the evidence of some coins issued by several rulers in ancient India, whose names ended in 'Mitra'.[129] Though scholars like S.B. Rājyagor have tried to prove the theory wrong, their arguments lack substance. And hence this theory tracing the origin of the Maitrakas to the Kśatriyas remains the most authentic and reliable thus far.

We can now safely say that, of the earliest settlers in Saurāṣtra, whether indigeneous or otherwise, we know a considerable amount. It is about time to mention briefly the tribes which were contemporary or feudatories of the Maitrakas. At the end of the seventh century A.D., the principal tribes, or racial classes, inhabiting the peninusula of Saurāṣtra were Jeṭhwas[130], Chāorās[131], Valās[132], Ahers, Rabāris[133], Gohils, Mers, Bhils and Kolis; and of these the last two named formed the aboriginal people.

At the time of the destruction of Valabhi all these peoples formed the bulk of the population of Saurāṣtra. Apart from them a mention could also be made of the Tajjikas or Arabs[134] and Pārsis.[135]. Later on the Chaudāsmas of Vāmansthali (Vanthali) and the Kāthis also established in Gujarāt and Saurāṣtra. One other foreign tribe known as Gurjaras, after entering India from the north west, gradually spread as far south as Gujarāt.

Thus the once holy land of Gujarāt became a land of aliens. But this foreign element, which permeated to the length and breadth of Gujarāt and often spilt into its adjoining states as well was gradually assimilated and absorbed by the great Indian civilization and they were also Indianised in Gujarāt. An infusion of foreign blood took place in all the Āryan classes of Gujarāt and these aliens were either absorbed by the existing castes or they formed new castes of their own. This process of absorption and assimilation took place between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries A.D. and the Maitraka rule acted as a vanguard in this respect in Gujarāt.

Owing to the influx of these foreigners both by land and sea and their subsequent intermixture with the natives of Gujarāt, the state became a land of subcastes.[136] In no other part of India are the

subdivisions of communities so minute either in theory or in practice. As the people of Gujarāt in general and Saurāṣtra in particular are of mixed blood, there has developed a great medley of races and cultures in this region. Ethnographically, Gujarāt shows this great mix to this day.

But in spite of our social outgrowth due to causes both historical and geographical, it should not be forgotten that the mind of Gujarāt is recognised as tolerant. The state has lived and faced a mass of varied humanity on its soil and in the ceaseless struggle that ensued, the human material has been so moulded and transformed that it has preserved its self's excellence, absorbed all that it admired in others and maintained a mental attitude of 'Laissez Faire' where ever things happened to be disagreeable.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. On Ist May, 1960, as a result of Bombay Reorganization Act, 1960, the state of Gujarāt was formed from the north and west (predominantly Gujarāti speaking) portion of Bombay State, the remainder being named the state of Mahārāṣhtra.
2. The area of the state is 1, 96, 024 sq. kms.
3. According to the 2001 census the total population of the state was 50,596,992, a density of 258 per sq. km.
4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII. (Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1908), p. 278. But Trivedi, P.M. in 'Mainland of Gujarāt : A Study in Regional Setting and Regional Ecology,' *Journal of Gujarāt Research Society*, Vol. III, (*JGRS*, hereafter) gives a slightly different location. Describing Gujarāt he states that it is a tropical region spreading between 20°-5′ and 24°-9′ latitude North and 69°-2′ and 74°-4′ longitude East. (p. 82).
5. The *JGRS*, Vol. III, describes the physical frontiers of Gujarāt even more clearly. According to it, "the desert of Rādhanpur, the Mount Ābu, the ranges of the Arasur and the Arāvallis, all of them form the northernmost outposts; the ridges of the Arāvallis, the rolling plateaux of Mālwā and Mewār and the festoons of the Vindyas form the north-eastern and eastern boundary; in the south gape the spurs of the Satpurās and the Vindhyas, and the northward projections of the rugged Sahiyādris interspersed by the dense forests of Dong and Dharampur; while the western portion is washed by the waves of the Arabian Sea." (p. 83)

6. For a detailed study see Munshi, K.M., 'Geology of Gujarāt', *Glory that was Gujradesa*, Part I, Chapter I, pp. 3-20; also Sankalia H.D., *AOG*, p.3. Considered as a part of the whole of India, Gujarāt geologically presents a kaleidoscopic view. Its north, north-western, north-eastern and eastern part is 'Pleistocene'; the western Kutch and southern Kāthiāwāḍ belongs to 'Gondwānā;' and the Mainland of Kāthiāwāḍ belongs to the 'Deccan Trap' (based on the *Oxford School Atlas*, 29th Edition, hereafter *O.S.A.*, Oxford University Press,, 1997).
7. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII, p.1; also *O.S.A.*, *op.cit.* It shows that Saurāṣhtra was formed by the Deccan Lava (p. 26).
8. *O.S.A.*, *op.cit.*, p.25.
9. The State production of Soda-ash is 90.4% of national output, and of Salt, about 60%.
10. Even at present Gujarāt is a maritime state of great significance. Apart from the major free port of Kāndlā, it contains 46 ports well distributed along its coastal stretch. There are 10 intermediate ports and 36 minor ports which together handle 40% of the country's traffic handled by such ports.
11. Watters, T., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, p. 246, Beal, S., *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 266.
12. *AMMK*, Vs. 16, cf. Jayaswāl, K.P, *An Imperial History of India*, Sanskrit text, p. 25.
13. India, in ancient times was divided into five broad geographical divisions, viz., *Udićci* (Northern), *Dakśina*(Southern), *Dhruva Madhyama* (Central), *Prāćya* (Eastern) and *Pratićci* (Western). *Pratićci* was also known as *Aparānta*. The earliest reference to

them is found in the *Atharva Veda* and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* where they are mentioned as various *Diks* (directions). The word *Dik* originally meaning merely 'direction', in course of time, came to connote a region. *(Atharva veda*, III, 27; IV, 30; XII, 3; XIX, 17; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 8, 14). The *Mārkaṇdeya* and the *Brahmāṇda* Purāṇas, however, refer to the territorial divisions of India as numbering seven, the latter expressly stating that in ancient times Bharatvarsa was divided into *Sapta Khandam* (seven regions) - cf. *Brahmānda Purāṇa*, 34, 64. But this division into seven regions, including the remaining two, namely, the Vindhya region and the Himālayan region (*Parvatśreyinaḥ)*, is not fundamentally different from the original division into five, mentioned above.

The exact connotation of the term Aparānta is still vague. Geographically, the region between Ujjain and Sindh and Sindh and Surpāraka (Sopārā), the western sub-division of Bhāratavarṣa, probably came to be known as Aparānta in the Mahājanapada Era. The region included Sindh, Gujarāt and Konkan. It is the *Arike* of Ptolemy, which extended southward from the Nerbudā (Nermadā). According to Bhagwān Lāl Indrāji the western sea board of India was called *Aparantaka* (*IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 259, 263).

14. The name Gujarāt is derived from 'Gurjāratta' or 'Gurjārtra', i.e., the land protected or ruled by Gurjar. Some derive it from 'Gurjar-Rāṣtra', meaning he country inhabited by Gurjars. But Gujarāt as the name of the region under discussion is comparatively of recent origin. The term 'Gujarāt' gained currency during the Ćālukya period (A.D. 942-1299), when after the spread of the Gurjaras

from Northern India, under their rule, the Northern Gujarāt began to be called *Gurjara-Mandala*, *Gurjaradesa* and *Gurjaratra*. (Rājyagor, S.B., *History of Gujarāt*, p. 1). However, the present name 'Gujarāt' came to be applied to the whole mainland of modern Gujarāt under the Muslims from the thirteenth century onwards. (cf. *Gujarātno Rājakiya aur Sānskritic Itihās:* Vol. I, 1972, pp. 253-56, 274, 279-283).

15. Also known as Ānandapura, the modern Vādnagar, (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 6, n. 2). These names occur frequently in the inscriptions of the Maitrakas pertaining to the 6th century A.D. (*HIG*, I, Nos. 40, 76, 83). According to Sankalia, it is really doubtful whether Anarttapura was the capital before this period, and whether Ānartta comprised the whole of Northern Gujarāt and also Saurāṣtra, or only the region round about Dwārika. Epigraphically, Anartta as a name of a region is not so far found in the Maitraka records, though Ānarttapura implies a *pura* (city) in *Anartta*. (*AOG*, p. 4-5).

16. According to the *Purāṇas*, Saryati, the son of Vaivasvata Manu, got as his share western India and Saryati's son, Ānarta, founded Ānartta (the region) - *Hari Purāṇa*, I, 10, 31-33; *Matsya Purāṇa*, XII, 21-22; *Padma Purāṇa*, V, 8, 126-29. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Ānartta comprised of Gujarāt and a part of Mālwā and its capital was Kuśasthali or modern Dwārika (Ch. X, 67). However, elsewhere in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, Dwārika and Prabhāsa have been regarded as situated in Saurāṣtra; and Saurāṣtra and Ānartta are referred together. (*Mahābhārata*, III, 88, 19 and 24; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 113, 51; *Vayu Purāṇa*, 45,

131). But according to another view, Ānartta corresponded to the Northern Gujarāt, with its capital at Ānartta pura (*Skanda Purāṇa*, Ch. 65).

17. *Garuda Purāṇa* describes Lata as Southern Gujarāt including Khāndesh situated between the river Mahi and the lower Tāpi (Chapter 55). Though it may be identified with *Larike* of Ptolemy (c.A.D. 150) McCrindle-*Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 38; its use from Indian sources cannot be traced back beyond the 4th century A.D. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, p. 7). After the fourth century, however, Lata is frequently mentioned in inscriptions and literature. Of these the earliest is, so far, the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta (5th century A.D., *CII*, III, pp. 79-88).

18. 'Saurāṣtra' or the Good country was named thus because of the natural richness of the province, as from very ancient times the country was famous for its natural wealth. This nomenclature was in popular use right upto the middle of the eighteenth century when it gave place to the appellation, Kāthiāwāḍ. For this the Marāthās are responsible, for they renamed the country after the tribe (the *Kāthis*) from which they experienced the strongest opposition when engaged in plundering expeditions. (Altekar, A.S., *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ*, p. 14; also Wilberforce Bell, H., *History of Kāthiāwāḍ*, Ch. 1, p. 1). The Kāthis themselves are a comparatively recent importation, who settled in Saurāṣtra in the fifteenth century after having been driven out of Kutch. Now again the region is called Saurāṣtra.

19. The Muslim conquerors shortened the name to this Prākritized Sorath.

20.*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. 1, p.6.

21.The usual term used by the Kśatrapas, the Guptas and the Maitrakas is Surāṣtra (plural) and not Saurāṣtra.

22.*Aṣtādhyāyi*, VI, 2, 37.

23.Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. 1, p. 6.

24.Sorensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, p. 661.

25.*Ādi Kāṇda*, Canto XII; *Ayodhyā Kāṇda*, Canto X; *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇda*, Canto I and X. The last one locates the tribe in the west, when sending the retinue of monkeys in the western direction in quest of Sita, Sugriva asked Suṣeṇa to send his unit to Saurāṣtra (among other countries).

26.*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Book II, Ch. III, Slokas 132-35) locates it in the extreme west and associated with the Suras, Abhiras, Arbudas and Mālavas, *The Mārkaṇdeya Purāṇa* (57, Śloka 52 includes them in Western India while *Brahma Purāṇa*; *Kūrma Purāṇa* (I, Ślokas, 42, 47, the *Padma Purāṇa* (I, 90,2) and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (I, 10, 34) also mention it.

27.Shamāshastri, Kauthilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Mysore, 1929), p. 50, 378

28.*Patānjali's Mahābhāṣya*, I, 1.1, p. 31, cf. Law, B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*.

29.*Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, XIV, 17-19 also XIX, 19.

30.*Kāmasutra*, ed., Pańcānan Tārkaratha, p. 1334.

31.*Kāvyamimaṁsa*, 281 and *Gāekwad Oriental Series*, pp. 93-94.

32.I, 1, 2, 13-15.

33.*Jātaka*, No. III, p. 463.

34.*Jātaka*, No. V, p. 133.

35.*Petavatthu*, IV, p. 3 Bhaṇḍārkar, D.R. Volume, p. 329 ff; cf. Law, B.C., *op.cit.*, p. 298.

36.*EI*, VIII, pp. 36-49; Saurāṣtra is also found in other inscriptions, of other kings, e.g., Gotamiputra Śātakarṇi, *ibid*, p. 60; Skandagupta, *CI.I.*, III, p. 59. These inscriptions of the Christian era, along with the Nasik record of Queen Gautami (*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, p. 61, which refers to Kāthiāwāḍ and Saurāṣtra), indicate that Saurāṣtra was coterminous with the lower half of Kāthiāwāḍ. These epigraphs also throw light on the geographical limits of this part of Gujarāt.

37.According to Sankalia, Strabo's time is (60 B.C. - 19 A.D.); Fergusson, J., Hamilton and Falconer, *The Geography of Strabo*, II, pp. 252.

38.*Natural History* (A.D. 77), cf. Munshi, K.M., *op.cit.*, I, p. 31.

39.McCrindle, J.W., *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (A.D. 150), pp. 35-36, 136.

40.*The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 301. In Jaina texts, it was included in the list of twenty-five and a half Āryan countries with its capital at Baravai. The Jaina *Daśaveyaliya Cūrni* also refers to Surattha or Saurāṣtra (I, 40).

41.Watters, T., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, pp. 246-49. According to *Daśakumāracharita* of Daṇḍin also the capital of Saurāṣtra was Valabhi (Chapter 6, Kale's Ed.); cf. De, N.L., *Geographic Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Luzac, 1927, p. 183. But before this under the Guptas, who took the possession of Saurāṣtra from the Indo-Greeks, its capital was Bāmanasthali (the modern Banthali). Banthali or Wanthali or Vanathali is at a distance of about thirteen kms. from Junāgaḍh.

42.*EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp. 179-80.

43. *ibid*, pp. 181-83. From the Jesar plates of Śīlāditya III, dated A.D. 666-67, we gather that Kalapaka *pathaka* (modern Kalavad) was included in the Saurāṣtra country (*ibid.*, p. 210).

44.*IA*, XVIII, 1889, pp. 110-13.

45.*EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, pp. 277-78.

46.Chaudhuri, S.B., *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, p. 154.

47.Daṇdin's *Daśakumāracharita* (Kale's Ed., 1917), p. 164. Accordingly, the author equates the Kingdom to present Kāthiāwāḍ upto the river Mahi in the east, with its capital at Valabhi.

48.Cf. Watters, *op.cit.*, II, p. 246; Beal, *op.cit.*, II, p. 266. According to the Chinese pilgrim, the kingdom of Valabhi is about 1200 miles in circuit; the capital (Valabhi) having a circumference of six miles. As referred to in *JASB*, Vol. V, p. 658, however, Valabhi kingdom was situated in the north of *Larise* (Lāta) and its extent was 6000 li (1300 miles). Valabhi, its capital was 30 li (5 miles) in circumference.

49.*Ārya-Mañju-Śri-Mūla Kalpa*, Jayaswāl, K.P., *An Imperial History of India*, p. 24; also Gadre, A.S., 'The Virdi plates of Kharagraha I, dated A.D. 617', *J.I.B.S.*, Vol. 1, pp. 7ff.

50.Fleet, *CII*, III, pp. 171-73.

51.This is indicated by the military camp of Dharasena IV at this place, as noticed in his Alina grant, dated A.D. 649, *idem.*; *IA*, VII, 1878, pp. 73-75.

52.Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 173.

53. Yuan Chwang states that Mālwā in Gujarāt formed a part of the dominions of the Maitraka King Śilāditya Dharmāditya (A.D. 605-609), Watters, *op.cit.*, II, p. 241; Dhruvasena II is also known to have granted land in the district of Mālavaka (Mālwā) apparently in the Mahi valley. (*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 188ff, 196ff.)

54. Cunningham, A., *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 363ff. and 697; also Nihār Ranjan Ray, *IHQ*, IV, 1928, p. 453.

55. Inscriptional and historical evidence prove that even in 760 A.D., the Maitraka kingdom extended to Junagadh in the west, Godhra in the east and Vādnagar in the north (*Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Antiquities*, 1938-39, p. 28.)

56. The ancient city of Valabhi, the modern Valā or Walā (or Valeh according to *B.G.*, I, Ch. VII, p. 78) is situated near Bhāvnagar in Gujarāt. The ruins of this famous city also known as Balabhi or Valabhi were found near Bhāvnagar on the eastern side of Gujarāt. (*A.S.W.I.*, Vol. II, p. 80). The ruins of this city were first discovered by Tod. (James Tod, *Travels in Western India*, p. 284, Cunningham, A., *op.cit.*, p. 266). In an inscription of the fifth century A.D., it has been mentioned as a beautiful kingdom of Balabhadra, (*JASB*, 1838, p. 976). It is difficult to ascertain whether Sanskrit *Valabhi* was the original name or *Valeh* is a corruption of the Prākrit form *Valahi*. Once situated on the coast line of the peninsula, it is quite astonishing that Valabhi or Valahi never finds mention in the *Periplus* or in Ptolemy who are both eloquent about Broach and Surat. [Though it is worth mentioning here that Ptolemy's name for Gopnāth point is *Balai*, which suggests that as early as the second century A.D. Valeh or Baleh

(compare Albaruni's era of Balah) was known by its present name'. (*B.G., op.cit.*, p. 78)]. But this identification is dubious. Though the place is also known as Balabhipoora or Valabhipura (Tod, J., *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 173-177; also *Travels in western India*, p. 168), but in local histories and traditions of the people, it is generally known as Balabhi.

57. Valabhi is not mentioned in the early Sanskrit or Pāli texts. But the reference to Valabhi in Pāṇini's *Gaṇapatha (Varanadi Gaṇa)* is an exception in this regards and it carries the antiquity of the city as far back as pre-Mauryan days (cf. Nanavati, J.M., & Dhank, *Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, p. 13; also *Gujarāt State Gazetteer*, Bhāvnagar dist., 1969, Ch. II, p. 48).

58. Apart from the land grants of the Maitrakas, two grants of the Gurjaras of Broach also refer to Valabhi in vague terms, (*IA*, Vol. XIII, p .77; *IA*, Vol. V, p. 113).

59. There are numerous later Brāhmanical literary references to Valabhi. For instance Valabhi and its rulers are referred to in the colophon of the last canto of the *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya* (Ch. XXII, 350). Daṇdin's *Daśakumāracharita* also mentions it, (*asti Saurāṣṭreṣu Valabhi nāme nagari*, p. 164, Kāle's Edn., 1917; The story of Gṛhagupta & Babhadra, p. 158). *Kathāsaritsāgara* also refers to its Sanskrit form Valabhi. Lastly, the destruction of the city is referred to in the *Gāthā - Sahasri* of Samayasundara (*Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS*, by Peterson, 1884-86, p. 285; also Gadre, *I.I.B.S.*,p. 8).

60. The *Śatrunjaya-mahātmya* of Dhaneśvarsuri refers to one Śilāditya as ruling Valabhi (Verse (2) 86; cf. Gadre, *op.cit.*, p. 8). The

Kalpa-Sutra refers to the Council of Valabhi (*ibid.*, p. 9). But these references seem to be vague.

61. The Buddhist work *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-Mūlakalpa* refers to the Maitrakas of Valabhi (Jayaswāl, *An Imperial History of India*, Sanskrit text, p. 43). But the most authentic Buddhist evidence regarding Valabhi is provided by the account of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang. He describes the city as *Fa-la-pi*. Yuan Chwang further states that the kingdom of Valabhi was also called *Pe-Li-lo*, or northern Lara (*Lāta*) and its capital city was 30 *li* (or 5 miles) in circuit.

62. The modern town of Valā lies about thirty two kms. (twenty nine kms. according to some scholars) to the north-west of Bhāvanagar and twenty-five miles north of the holy Jaina hill, Śatrunjaya. (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. IV, p. 455). It is situated on the bank of the river Ghelo and its nearest railway station in the 1940's was Dhola Junction of the Bhāvnagar state Railways, which lies about twelve miles to its north-east (*Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rājkot*), 1938-39, p. 28.

63. According to the *Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rājkot*, 1938-39, p. 29, Valā stood on a slight plateau about twenty foot or so above the plain which stretched away to the creek of Bhāvnagar about four miles off.

64. Its choice as a capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhāvnagar creek. (*Bombay Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 78). But it seems that Valabhi's present situation could be do to natural alterations which in due course have silted up and choked the western portion of the creek which once united Valabhi to the sea.

As of today the town is about twenty nine kms. inland, from the harbour on the creek.

65.The modern Valā is situated in 21°52′ N., 71°57′E. According to Virji the city resembled the shape of a human ear. Valabhi was fortified and surrounded by a wall, as may easily be judged from the ruins. A moat ran round this wall which was pierced by a number of gates and at each of these gates there was a wooden bridge to cross the moat (*AHS*, p. 220). Cf. Nicholson, *JRAS*, XIII, 1852, p. 146, Nicholson names it as *Vamilapura*.

66.In the times of Akbar, these remains appear to have been considerable, as Abul Fazl, was informed that "at the foot of the mountains of Sirouj, is a large city, now out of repair... and the port of Ghoga is dependent on it". (*Ain-i-Akbari*, II. 69) The ruins of Valabhi are about 32 kms. away from Ghoga.

67.Gujarati is spoken as far as Pālanpur, though Mārwāri is also in use here. Likewise Gujarāti is used in vicinities of Thar, Sindh, Kutch and Kāthiāwāḍ. In the south it not only extends upto Daman but stretches further down to Bombay (Mumbai). All this shows that the population of the state is mixed and its language bilingual (as Gujarāti is used alongside Marāthi in its South). For details refer to Sankalia H.D., *AOG.*, p. 2.

68.Gujarāt has passed through both Pre-historic and Proto historic periods. Pre history of Gujarāt began with the first appearance of the Early Man on the banks of the rivers, Sābarmati, Mahi, Orsang, Narmadā etc., during the Pleistocene age (Rājyagor S.B., *op.cit.*, p. 31) Gujarāt has all the features of Palaeolitic and Microlithic ages.

69. More than hundred sites of Harappan and late-Harappan Culture have been excavated in Gujarāt. (Rāo, S.R., *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*, 1973, pp. 46-47).

70. The traditional Brāhmanical, Buddhist and Jaina accounts along with the Great Epics and Purāṇas shed light on the early ethnography of Gujarāt. They refer to the advent of Early Āryans in Gujarāt. The mythological account of the *Śharyats*, *Bṛugus*, *Yādavas*, *Purūs*, *Anūs* and other Āryan tribes are found in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 13, 5, 9; III, 121-123) and the various Purāṇas like *Vāyu Purāṇa*, *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Matasya Purāṇa*, *Brahmānd Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Bhāgwat Purāṇa* etc. The *Baudhāyan Dharmasūtra* and *Baudhāyana Grihya Paribhaṣa Sūtra* speak of the people of Ānarta as of being of mixed descent (cf. Rājyagor S.B., *op.cit.*, p. 16).

71. Rājyagor S.B., *ibid.*, p. 45.

72. According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Western India was occupied by the tribes like *Saurāṣtra*, *Suras*, *Abhiras*, *Arbudas*, *Karusas*, *Mālavas*, *Saurviras* and *Saindhavas* (Wilson Hall's edition, *Visnu Purana*, Vol. II, Bk. II, 3., p. 132).

73. The account of the Nagas and the Asuras is given in detail in the *Skand Purāṇa* (*Adhyāyas*, 114, 117, 118, 183) and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, (*Adyāya*, 4, 6). According to the former, the main Nāga colonies were located round about Vādnagar.

74. The *Asuras* were probably foreigners who were immigrants from Assyria and had come to Gujarāt for trading purposes.

75. The geographical position of Kāthiāwāḍ in particular, account for the circumstance that, with the exception of Punjab, it has been the

most frequented thoroughfare into India of the country's early invaders. Scythians, Greeks, Rājputs and Muslims have utilized this Western promontory of India as the doorway to the promised land.

76.II, 37.

77.I, I, 2, 13-15.

78.Vaidya, C.V., *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 76.

79.Cf. Verma, Nitā, *op.cit.*, p. 47. The appointment of Tuhśaspa (*Yavana* contemporary and vassal of Aśoka) as the king of Saurāṣtra indicates the same.

80.Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, pp. 9-10.

81.The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, I, V, 19; The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, XII, Vs. 22-24; Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

82.*Mahābhārata*, II, 13, 5, 9.

83.For *Saryata* geneology see, *Padma Purāṇa*, V, 8, 126-129; also *Matsya Purāṇa*, 12, 21-24; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, II, 24, 23-25; *Hari Purāṇa*, I, 10, 30-37.

84.*Arthaśāstra*, tr. Shamāshāstry, R., Mysore, 1929, p. 407.

85.I, 32-33.

86.*ASI*, *AR*, 'Reports of Tours on the Central Doab and Gorakpur', in 1874-75 and 1875-76 (Carlleyle, ACL and Cunningham, A.), Vol. XII, p. 93.

87.Chapter 57, 52.

88.*Gāekwad's Oriental Series*, pp. 93-94; cf. Law, B.C., *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, p. 23.

89.The Abhiras as a tribe can still be traced in the present *Ahirs* (which is but the Prākrit form of the Sanskrit word Abhira).

According to the Mahābhārata (Sabhāparva, Ch. 51), the Abhiras are located in the western division of India.

90. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* located Sindhu-Sauviras in the extreme west along with Saindhavas, Hūṇas, Salvas, Sakalas, Madras, etc. (Wilson, Hall's Edition, Book II, Ch. III, p. 133). The country of Sindhu-Sauvira was wrested by the Kśatrapas from the Kuśāṇas. After the Kśatrapas the land probably passed over to the Guptas and later to the Maitrakas of Valabhi (Law, B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 296). *Sovira* has been identified with Eder or Ider, a district in the province of Gujarāt at the head of the Gulf of Cambay – Cunningham, A, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 497.

91. The Mālavas first settled in Punjab and then gradually spread in the country known in ancient days as Lāta-deśa (comprising Broach, Kutch, Vādnagar and Ahmedābād) and finally in modern Mālwā. (For details refer to Law, B.C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 60-65).

92. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Section VII, Adhyaya I, Verse 282.

93. Almost all the dynasties in India trace their ancestry to Manu, son of Vaivasvata, i.e., Sun. In *Ṛgveda* – I, 80, 16; II. 33, 13, Manu and Vaivasvata are hymn makers. Manu is believed to have distributed the whole world to his ten sons, out of whom his son Śarayati got Gujarāt as his share – (cf. Rājyayaor, S.B., *op.cit.*, p. 46).

94. Tod, J., *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. I, pp. 83, 215-18, 251; also *Travels in Western India*, p. 233.

95.There seems to be two separate ruling families of the Gohils, viz., the Gohil of Saurāṣtra, who claim descent from the celebrated king Shalivāhan (c. 78 A.D.); and the Gohils of Mewār who trace their origin to the Solar dynasty of Ayodhyā. (*Gujarāt State Gazetteer*, *op.cit*, p. 58). The Gohils or Sesodiās of Mewār (Udaipur) are by common consent of India, considered to be the best and most ancient *Kśatriyas*, being the direct descendants of Rāma of the premier solar race of Ayodhyā. Though the bards are unanimous in declaring the Maitrakas of Valabhi to be the ancestors of the Guhilots, their bardic legends differ on the matter of the actual succession. Thus, according to one tale, Śilāditya VII of Valabhi married a Brāhman woman, and had a son named Karṇa Rāja. It was his son Writket, who made for himself a kingdom between the Ganges and the Yamuna rivers. Later on he established himself in Saurāṣtra and ruled over a fourth part of the peninsula. Another account says that when Śilāditya VII was defeated and overcome by the Arabs, his wife, Puṣhpawati, a Parmara princess, fled into the jungle, where sometime afterwards a son was born to her. As the birth took place in a cave (*Gufa* in Hindi and Gujarāti and *Guhā* in Sanskrit), this son was called 'Gohā' (sometimes also called Guhā, Guhāditya or Guhādutta). On attaining maturity, this boy, rose to power as a king at Bhandari, in Northern Gujarāt. He captured Chitor and established himself there. Afterwards he migrated to Saurāṣtra. But this tradition tracing the origin of the Gohils to queen Puṣhpawati, widow of the last king Śilāditya of Valabhi through her posthumous son Guhādatta, seems erroneous. It was presumably based on the false notion of some Jaina writers

who equated the Gohil king Śilāditya of Mewār to the well known Maitraka king Śilāditya of Valabhi, the comparison being further negated by the fact that Guhādatta, the founder of the Gohil dynasty, flourished about two centuries earlier than king Śilāditya VII of Valabhi. Moreover, according to the *Gujarāt State Gazetteer*(p. 56), the Gohils connect themselves with the Solar dynasty of Ayodhyā, whereas the kings of Valabhi traced their origin to the *Yadu* line of Lunar dynasty. Thus the Gohils cannot be taken as descendants of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. Yet another legend notes that the Gehlots or Gohils, who are descended from the Valabhis took their name not from their race but from King Guhā or Guhasena, the fourth ruler and apparently the first great sovereign among the Maitrakas. (*Bombay Gazetteeer*), *op.cit.*, p. 85; also Vaidya, C.V., *op.cit.*, p. 246). Though the derivation of Gehlot or Gohil from Guhasena seems to be far fetched and according to Nihārranjan Ray there is no reason to equate Gehlots with Guhasena (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. IV, p. 458); if at all this theory is true, the earlier two legends could be proved absolutely false. Incidently, Forbes A.K., (*Rās Mālā*, p. 255, note 3), also believes that Gohils were related to the Matirakas of Valabhi, but he gives an altogether different version in this regard. He states that after Guhasena, the Maitraka empire was split up between his two sons. While his elder son Dharasena II ruled from Valabhi, the younger son Guhāditya reigned from Eder (or Ider). The latter is regarded as the ancestor of the Gohils of Mewār.

96. According to a bardic tradition Saurāṣtra in ancient period was inhabited, among others, by a Lunar Tribe named Balla. They

originally belonged to Bactria and based on their name the whole of Saurastra was called Ballica Khetra. But another popular legend states that Lord Rāma's grandson's name was Balla (son of Lava – the elder son of Rām). He established his rule at Dhank (or Dhauk) and made Balakhetra (Valabhi) his capital. (cf. Tod J., *Travels in western India*, p. 170). Kanakasena belonged to this family.

97. Though some scholars equate it to modern Lāhore, it seems that it was probably located in Uttar Pradesh (Tod J., *op.cit.*, p. 233).

98. Probably the modern Dholka. It is generally belived that the Pāṇḍavas lived here during the period of their exile. (cf. Forbes A.K., *op.cit.*, p. 16).

99. A king of Paramāra lineage. (cf. Forbes, A.K., *idem*).

100. *idem*, the modern Sihor.

101. Keilhorn, *IA*, XIV, p. 327; Bhaṇḍārkar, R.G., *IA*, I, p. 14; Mandalik, *JBBRAS.*, XI, p. 346; Bhau Daji, *J.B..B.R.A.S.*., VIII, p. 244f.

102. Fleet, J.F., 'Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions' in *IA*, VIII, p. 303.

103. *Bombay Gazetteer*, *op.cit.*, p. 87.

104. *JBBRAS*, XI, p. 346. He was the first to suggest that the word 'Maitraka' should be taken as a proper noun instead of a common noun.

105. 'Gaṇeśhgaḍ Plates fo Dhruvasena I', *EI*, III, p. 322. He correctly translated the expression as : "(in the race) of the Maitrakas, who prostrated (their) enemies by force, (was born) the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the glorious (Senāpati)

Bhatarāka, who obtained splendour in hundreds of battles, fought with a vast crowd of enemies of unequalled strength".

106. The Mers of Saurāṣtra used 'Huna' as their surname. (cf. Rājyagor, S.B., *op.cit.*, p. 81).

107. Jagan Nāth, 'Early History of the Maitrakas of Valabhi', *Indian Culture* (*I.C.* hereafter), Vol. V, p. 408.

108. Bhau Daji tried to equate the Maitrakas to the *Puśyamitras* (a foreign sun worshipping tribe). He believed that the Maitrakas succeeded the Śhakas. This conclusion was drawn from a Valabhi plate not translated properly. According to it the Śhakas were defeated by the Sun-worshipping people. The theory is, of course, erroneous. (*J.B..B.R.A.S. op.cit.*, p. 244).

109. Smith, V.A., *Early History of India*, p. 326.

110. Ray, N.R., 'The Maitrakas of Valabhi', *I.H.Q.*, IV, 1928, p. 457. He strongly believes that Maitrakas just like the Hūṇas, were a sun-worshipping tribe. Further he equates the Sanskrit *Mitra* with the Persian *Mithra* and cites the inscription of the *Mer* tribe discovered from Hathasm in Kāṭhiāwāḍ (Vājeshankar Gaurishankar, 'Hathasni Inscription of the Mehara Chief Thepaka', *IA*, XV, p. 360) as an example to justify that the Maitrakas were foreigners. In *JASB*, 1909, p. 183-84, Bhaṇḍārkar, D.R., has expressed the same view.

111. *B.G.*, Vol. I, pt. 1, Ch. VIII, p. 85. But this theory has been refuted (See Ray, N.R., *I.H.Q.*, IV, p. 458).

112. Jagan Nāth, *op.cit.*, p. 409.

113. *Manu Smṛti*, (c. A.D. 200), X, 33.

114. *Vaijayanti*, (c. eleventh century A.D.), *Mānusyadhyāya*, 103b, 105, 64-121, 53-59, compiled by Yādavaprakaśa.

115. *Manu Smṛti*, *op.cit.*, p. 410.

116. *Vaijayanti*, *op.cit.*, The lexicon treates the words 'Maitra' and Maitraka as identical.

117. Kāṇe, P.V., explains the *Vrātyas* as a group of people who spoke the same language as the orthodox Āryans but did not follow their customs, habits or traditions. In the *Manusmṛti* (II, 42; X, 20; XI, 63) and the *Vaijayanti* (*op.cit.*, 53-59), the *Vrātyas* are described as those who have not undergone the *Upanayana* ceremony in due time and hence were not privileged to receive the sacred Sāvitri verse called *Gāyatri* (cf. Virji, *AHS*, p. 18, note-9).

118. *Vaijayanti*, Mānusyadhyāya, 103. In Monier-Williams Dictionary also the term Maitraka is explained as 'a person who worships in a Buddhist temple'. This has led Moray, M.S., to believe that Maitrakas were originally Buddhists. (*History of Buddhism in Gujarāt*, p. 67-68).

119. Shastri, H.G., *Maitraka Kālina Gujarāt*, Part I, p. 25 ff.

120. Other scholars also subscribe to this theory – (Rājyagor, S.B., *op.cit.*, p. 82; also Śhāstri, H.G., *Gujarātno Rājakiya aur Sānskritic Itihās*, Vol. III, 1974, p. 32).

121. For details, refer to the chapter on Religion.

122. Watters, T., *op.cit.*, II, p. 269; Beal, S., *op.cit.*, II, p. 246.

123. While explaining the considerations for royal matrimonial alliances, Bāṇabhatta states. "Wire men look for noble descent

only in the bridegroom among his other qualifications". (cf. Vaidhya, C.V., *op.cit.*, p. 242-43).

124. Verses 605-609, cf. Jayaswāl, K.P., *op.cit.*, p. 26.

125. Dhaneśvarasuri, *Śatrunjaya Mahātmya*, V, 14, Sarga 1.

126. The ornament of the Yādava family of the Lunar race. A bardic legend as recorded by Wātson (*IA*, II, p. 312 ff.) and Tod (*Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, I, pp. 100 and 255) connects the Maitraka kings with the solar race of Ayodhyā by describing them as the ancestors of the Guhilots. However, this tradition is proven to be false by the *Gujarāt State Gazetteer* (already mentioned) as also by Oza, (*Rājputānā kā Itihāsa*, I, pp. 369-70).

127. *AHS*, p. 19.

128. Shastri, D., *Traimāsika*, I, 173-78 ; cf. Virji, *idem*.

129. Banerjee in his Bengāli work named *Prāchina Mudrā* drew attention to the fact that several kings in ancient India, whose coins are numerous and are found in the Pānchāl area (Uttar Pradesh), had their names ending in 'Mitra' (pp. 106-8). From this, Bhaṇḍārkar, D.R. inferred that the Mitra dynasty of Pānchāl, Kośala and Mathurā were prototypes of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, who ruled over Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ (*IA*, LXI, p. 70).

130. Jeṭhwas are undoubtably one of the oldest Rājput race of Kāthāiwāḍ. The similarity of the name *Jeṭhwa* with *Jit* and *Jāt* makes it appear most likely that the Scythians from the north were their ancestors. According to a bardic legend they were first established at Śrinagar, then they settled in Saurāṣtra,

first at Morvi, than at Dhank and Ghumli in the Bārdā Hills and finally they migrated to Porbandar. Bühler, *IA*, XII, pp. 251-256, p. 152; also Wilber force Bell, H., *History of Kāthiāwāḍ*, p. 49-50.

131. After the extinction of the Maitraka dynasty the most important people in Saurāṣtra in all probability were the Chaoras. They too were Rājputs and probably were of Śaka or Scythian origin. It is believed that they and the Jeṭhwas were of common stock, and Dhank was the place where they first established themselves. Later on they settled in Okha from where they migrated to Prabhās Patan, where they were settled when Valabhi was sacked by the Arab. Later on they annexed other parts of Gujarāt as well and made Anhilwaḍ Patan, their capital, *IA*, XVII, p. 192; *Vienna Oriental Conference Report*, p. 230; Wilberforce Bell, *op.cit.*, p. 50-51.

132. The Valas trace their origin to Vriśhaktu. It is likely that the Valas were descendents of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. *ibid*, p. 52; *Gujarāt State Gazetteer*, Bhāvnagar district, Ahmedabad, 1969, p. 56.

133. According to a bardic tradition Rabāris are said to have come to Saurāṣtra from Hastināpur (Delhi). Afterward they established themselves in the Bārdā Hills (*ibid*, p. 54).

134. We know it for certain that Valabhi was sacked by the Arabs. (Rājyagor, S.B., *op.cit.*, p. 88; Śhāstri, H.G., *Maitraka Kālin Gujarāt* (in Gujarāti), Pt 1., p. 160).

135. Pārsis are believed to have immigrated in Gujarāt and North Konkan about the end of the eighth century A.D. (cf. Majumdār, M.R., *Chronology of Gujarāt*, p. 40).

136. A geographical location such as the one which Gujarat has, makes for political instability and social insecurity, which in turn contribute towards the formation of defensive habits in the life of its inhabitants. This according to Trivedi, P.M. was one of the main reasons for the existence of a plethora of castes and sub-castes in Gujarāt (cf. *JGRS*, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p. 92).

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE MAITRAKAS

Ancient Indian History was generally regarded as the history of big empires and was essentially construed to be political or dynastic in nature. Because its protagonists were the monarchs and kings, the historical narration of events generally revolved around their endeavours. Consequently, all early histories were mainly concerned with the rise and fall of dynasties and empires, about which we have adequate information at our disposal. The case of the dynasty under review is no different as we get a detailed and almost correct record of the Maitraka rulers and their chronology.

Dates and chronology are not very attractive things and a long list of such a kind is most depressing, least liked by an average student of history. Yet they help in putting things in their right place, so that we have an ordered sequence in our minds. Therefore, for a comprehensive and intelligible portrait of the Maitraka period, a sketch of their political history from their accession to extinction is of utmost importance.

In the wake of the growing realization among the scholars that royal achievements during ancient times were more often than not the work of panegyrists, as well as the fact that the Maitraka genealogical and chronological sequence has found enough place in the numerous works of the dynasties of ancient India; this research, which is not essentially political in nature, is going to discuss and describe the political history of the Maitraka only briefly. The object of such a study being, the proper understanding of various dynastic events during the Maitraka times which effected and influenced their

relations with other states and forming an idea about the political environment of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ before, during and after their rule.

It will not be, therefore, out of context here to devote some space to the early history of Gujarāt and Kāithiāwāḍ before delving into the political history of the Maitrakas. We have already discussed the beginning, prehistory and the protohistory of Gujarāt in a previous chapter. Though no specific information is available about the early history of the region, it seems that it is only with the advent of the Mauryas in this country, that the real political history of Gujarāt began. Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, defeated Selucus Nikator, the Syrian king in about 304 B.C. and afterwards turned north west and annexed Kāthiāwaḍ[1]. From the Pāli sources we come to know that during the Mauryan regime there was a local dynasty in Kāthiāwāḍ which was feudatory to them.[2] Pingala "the tawny-eyed prince" of this dynasty, we are informed, actually ascended the throne in the sixteenth regnal year of Chandragupta's son Bindusara.[3] This dynasty probably acquired feudatory status during the reign of Chandragupta itself. But Chandragupta also appointed his own viceroys to look after his imperial interests in the west and according to the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman (A.D. 150), one of these viceroys (*rāṣṭriya*) was a Vaiśya called Puśyagupta who immortalized his name by building the famous lake Sudarśana.[4] In *Arthaśāstra* Kautilya refers to certain sections of population of Saurāṣṭra as belonging to a self governing corporation of warriors (Kśatriya Śrenis)[5]. This shows that under the Mauryas Saurāṣṭra enjoyed a large measure of autonomy. Even later the region continued to form a part of the Mauryan empire, as under Aśoka,

Yavanraja Tuśaspha, possibly a Greek by birth[6], who beautified the Sudarśana lake, was the Mauryan viceroy of Saurāṣtra. Infact, Junāgaḍh remained the capital of the Mauryan viceroys of Kāithāwāḍ for long. After the assassination of Bṛahadratha by his commander-in-chief, Puśyamitra, the Śungas seized the power from the Mauryas and established their rule. The Śungas were, however, more interested in Magadha, and therefore, in the south and the south east the Āndhras and the Kalingas carved out independent kingdoms. Kāthiāwāḍ, which was probably an appendage of the North-West of the already vanished Mauryan empire, on the other hand declared its independence under Aśoka's son Virasena[7] Subhagsena, who was ruling over this kingdom in 206 B.C.,[8] when Antiochus, the Greek king of Bactria invaded the country, was perhaps a son of this Virasena[9]. It seems that Antiochus gave up the idea of conquering this region in the wake of stiff resistance from Subhagasena[9A]. But shortly after this invasion one Euthydemus of the Magnesias[10] made a successful bid for the crown of Bactria[10A]. He sent his son Demetrius[11] to conquer the North-west part of India in c. 185 B.C., and the latter was accompanied in this expedition, by his son Demetrius II, his able general Menander, and Apollodotus who was probably a brother of Demetrius.[11A]

It was this Apollodotus who advanced as far as Gujarat and Kāthiāwāḍ[12], after Subhagasena and his successors have been defeated by the Indo-Greeks. He made Ujjain his headquarter. Shortly after these successes in India, however, Demetrius was killed and Bactria was seized by Eucratides[13]. The Greek viceroys became independent in their respective provinces. After the death of Apollodotus, Menander who was in charge of Magadha[14], took possession of these

western provinces[15]. On latter's death in 148 B.C. the kingdom passed on to his son Soter (Strato I) I[16] under whom Kāthiāwāḍ seems to have been administered by his śatrap Apollodotus II[17]. But by the close of the first century B.C.[18] the Greek power in India, which has already begun to decline, was finally replaced by the Pārtho-Scythians, who entered India from eastern Iran.

Like Alexander, the Mauryas and the Indo-Greeks before them, the Pārtho-Scythian emperors followed the Achaemenid system of government by Śatrapas. The Scythians had a lasting impact on the polity of Western India. They first established their rule in north-west India.[19] They were divided into two branches, the first was known as the northern branch and the second one was known as the western Kśhatrapas, who ruled western India from their capital at Ujjain. We are only concerned here with the latter branch, whose kingdom endured till the fourth century A.D., and included besides Malwa, the whole of the coastal region of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ. Among the western Kśhatrapas, king Bhumaka and Nahapāna belonged to the Kśhaharāt family while Chaṣtan and others belonged to the family of Kardamakas. From the coins of Bhumaka it seems that he founded his empire probably along the coast of Gujarāt and Saurāṣtra[20]. Mālwā was wrested from the Sātavāhanās by Nahapāna.[21] Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the Sātavāhana ruler, arrested the progress of the Kśhaharātas and he defeated Nahapāna[22] in 124 A.D.[23] But within six years of this victory in about 130 A.D., Mālwā was again lost by the Sātavāhanas.[24]

Later Gujarāt was ruled by Chaṣtan[24A] and his grandson Rudradaman of the Karadamaka family. In twenty five years of his reign Rudradaman extended his sway over Kāthiāwāḍ, Gujarāt and

Konkan[25]. Though his capital was Ujjain, he assigned Ānarta (Northern Gujarāt) and Saurāṣtra to his Pahalāva governor Suviṣhakha (son of Kulaipa), who constructed a new dam or embankment on the ancient Sudarśana lake.[26] Rudradaman was succeeded by his eldest son Damaghasda I[27], after whom Rudrasiṁha became king[28]. But during Rudrasiṁha's regime his Abhira feudatories took advantage of the royal weakness and Isvarasena and his successor Iśvaradatta (c. A.D. 236-239) took possession of Gujarāt-Kāthiāwāḍ and Malwa[29].

Glory of the Western Kśhatrapas was again revived by Rudrasena III, who acquired the title of Mahākśhatrapa in A.D.348. But afterwards Rudrasiṁha II was defeated by the Gupta monarch, Samudragupta[30]. Then again, Rudrasiṁha III, the last Kśhatrapa (or Śaka) king was defeated by Chandra Gupta II in 378 A.D.[31]

It seems that Chandragupta II broke through the north-eastern frontier of Gujarāt, for in an inscription at Udayagiri in Mālwā, dated 401 A.D., it is found that Sanakanikar Mahārāja, feudatory of Kśhatrapa king, acknowledged the overlordship of Chandragupta II.[32] After the annexation of Mālwā in *circa* 400 A.D., the Guptas under Kumāragupta I, son and successor of Chandragupta II, extended their sway over other parts of Gujarāt by about 415 A.D.[33] From Mālwā, the Guptas carried their onslaughts into Saurāṣtra and by A.D. 409 they were in undisputed possession of Saurāṣtra[34]. According to a bardic tradition, this conquest of Saurāṣtra was also affected by Kumāragupta I[35].

As is evident, the rule of the Kśhatrapa kings came to an end probably in 398-99 A.D., while the Gupas took the undisputed possession of Gujarāt only in about 415 A.D. It is now regarded[36] that this interregnum 400-415 A.D. coincided with the rule of Śarva and

Śaśa Bhattarka, who are supposed to be remote relatives of Senāpati Bhatārka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty[37].

Of the history of Saurāṣtra during Kumārgupta's reign we are not very sure. But we definitely know that his son Skandagupta held sway over Gujarāt from 455 to 470 A.D. and his viceroy of Saurāṣtra was Praṇadatta.[38] Saurāṣtra was an emporium of trade and was an important province of the Gupta empire. So, when the Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of Skand Gupta, dated G.S. 138 i.e., A.D. 457, states that "Skanda Gupta had to deliberate for nights and days" before he could make a choice of the incumbent for this office[39], it hardly sounds surprising. After his appointment Praṇadatta[40] repaired the embankment of the Sudarśana lake[41] in 456 A.D. and his son Chakrapalita,[42] who was appointed as municipal officer of Girinagar (Junāgaḍh), erected in 457 A.D.[43] a magnificent temple of Lord Viṣṇu, whose ruins are now found in Damodar Mandir on Uparkot.

Praṇadatta was probably followed by Bhatārka[44], who was perhaps the last nomial viceroy of the Guptas[45]. Before his demise in 467-68 A.D.[46], Skanda Gupta, has to contend with the Puśyamitras[47] and the Hūṇas[48]. The bards tell us that Bhatārka, who was of Gehloti race and whose forefathers reigned at Ayodhyā in the past[49], an important cog in the wheel of Gupta designs in Saurāṣtra at this time, infact, proceeded to Saurāṣtra as Skanda Gupta commander (Senāpati)[50], taking a strong army with him, in order to stop the influence of the marauding Hūṇas in the area. Thus after Skandagupta's death, Saurāṣtra under Bhatārka witnessed a change in its political destiny.

But before delving into the political history of the Maitrakas, it will be more than appropriate to peep into the political situation of

Gujarāt just after the demise of Skanda Gupta. Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. and the early stages of the next century, several petty kings and generals, who were probably former vassals of the Guptas, asserted their independence and carved out kingdoms or principalities for themselves from the ruins of the tottering Gupta empire. From its debris in Gujarāt, arose the principalities of the Gurjjaras[51] around Broach, with Nandipuri as their capital; of the Garulakas[52] around Dwārika; of the Saindhavas[53] at Ghumli near Porbandar; of the Kātāccuris[54] (or Kālāchuris) in the regions north and south of the Tapti river; of the Traikutakas[55] around Bhruch in southern Gujarāt with Sopārā as their capital; and of the Maitrakas at Valabhi near Bhāvnagar. Thus we have atleast five or six small powers who shared between them parts of Kāthiāwāḍ and Lāta. Of course, the Maitrakas, among all these dynasties, proved to be the most durable.

Of the Maitraka dynasty, we have many remains, chiefly in the shape of copper plate inscriptions which have been found at various places throughout Kāthiāwāḍ. Their real value lies in the fact that they bear names of the donor kings and in most cases give the genealogical list of the Maitraka dynasty. In addition to these inscriptions, we have the evidence supplied by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang[56], who visited Valabhi in about A.D. 640, when it was at the height of its power and was a stronghold of Buddhism. He describes minutely, Valā, as he found it, and from his remarks and the information obtained from an unusually large number of land grant charters of the Maitraka family, we have been able to reconstruct the genealogy and chronology of the long chain of kings with a fair amount of certainty.

We gather from the hundred and twenty odd Maitraka inscriptions, and the grants of their contemporaries, that they provided security and stability to the western portion of India for nearly three hundred years when a fairly long line of twenty monarchs[57] sat on the throne of Valabhi. The dates for the individual kings and the total span of the dynasty still have a flexible range because of the long gaps between the land grants of the various Maitraka rulers. However, roughly speaking, it is inferred that the Maitrakas ruled from Valabhi from about A.D. 475-775. A difference of few years, here and there, in dating of the dynasty should not amount to much; for what matters is that a broad chronological sequence has been chalked out and a concrete place assigned to the Maitrakas in ancient Indian history.

Epigraphical sources are unanimous in declaring Sri Bhatārka as the founder of the Maitraka dynasty. As is evident from above, Senāpati Bhatārka, taking advantage of the slackening of the imperial sway of the Gupta sovereigns over western India after the death of Skandagupta, established himself as a ruler of Saurāṣtra. Having made good his footing, Bhatārka placed a governor at Vāmanasthali (the modern Vanthali) and himself founded the city of Valabhi,[58] which he made his headquarters. Later he established his rule in Kutch, Lāt-deśa and Mālwā as well[59]. Till today, we have not come across a single epigraph of Bhatārka. However, he is mentioned with great honour and reverence in almost all the Maitraka copper plate grants. That he was the progenitor of the Maitraka dynasty, who was held in high esteem, is also supported by the fact that all the Maitraka land grant charters begin with the legend "Śri Bhatārka".

In all the inscriptions of the Valabhi emperors, invariably, the following verse is found at the start :

Om Svasti Valabhitaḥprasabha-praṇat-amitraṇam Maitrakanam atula-bala-sampana-mandalabhoga-samśakta-samprahara-sata-labdha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-opanata-dāna-man-arjjav-opārjjit-anurāg-anurakta-maulabhrita-śreni-bala-avapta-rājyaśriḥ parmamaheśvaraḥ śri-senāpati Bhatārkkaḥ[60].

According to the verse, the great king Bhatārka "acquired the Goddess of royalty (royal power) through the strength of array of (his) hereditary servants and friends."[61] The reference to hereditary troops makes it apparent that Bhatārka was born in a family of military leaders. And when he found the time appropriate for the expansion of his power, because of the eclipse of the Gupta empire, he brought Saurastra under his control for all practice purposes. This is evident from the non-mention of Saurāṣtra in the Gupa inscriptions after Skandagupta.

Though Gupta dynasty continued its existence after the death of Skandagupta, its greatness appears to have departed. This probably helped Bhatārka in asserting his authority over Saurāṣtra. Though we have no certain date for Bhatārka, the earliest known date for Dronasiṁha, his son, who was the third ruler in succession, is available, viz., Vs. 183, i.e., c. A.D. 502.[62] If we allow a period of thirty years for the first two rulers (namely, Bhatārka and Dharasena I) we arrive at A.D. 472-73 as the starting point of the career of Bhatārka. Thus, it seems tha Bhatārka established the Maitraka dynasty either during the reign of Purugupta[63] or in that of Kumāragupta II[64].

After gaining prominence, Bhatārka seems to have transferred his capital from Girinagar to Valabhi. When or under what circumstances this shift took place is difficult to comprehend. It has

been suggested[65] that the city was abandoned as the bursting of the Sudarśana lake was a standing menace to its safety. But the argument is not sufficiently convincing. Anyway, there is no doubt that the Maitrakas made Valabhi their capital; for a majority of their land grant charters were issued from this city. The choice of a new capital is further substantiated by the fact that in the records of the contemporary dynasties, the Maitrakas are mentioned as 'Valabhi Kings'.

The fact that Girinagar had lost its importance and Valabhi had gained prominence is also confirmed by the epigraphical records. We find references to the brahmanas migrating from Girinagar to areas around Valabhi. One such reference is found in a Maitraka inscription[66], where the donee had migrated from Girinagar and resided at Śrādhika. According to Bhagwānlāl Indrāji and A.M.T. Jackson[67], Valabhi's choice as a capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhāvnagar creek.

Bhatārka had four sons, of whom the eldest, Dharasena I, succeeded him on the throne. There is a spurious land grant, wrongly attributed to this second ruler of the Maitraka dynasty, which actually belongs to Dharasena II[68]. S.B. Rājyagor[69] and the *Gujarāt State Gazetteer*[70] suggests the date of Dharsena I's reign to be between c. A.D. 490-500. K.J. Virji[71] is also of the same openion and in the wake of lack of epigraphical evidences their views are acceptable. As can be seen from the Sārnāth Inscription of Budhagupta[72], his reign started from A.D. 476-77 and extended upto A.D. 494-95. Thus, Budhagupa seems to be the Gupta emperor at the juncture of Dharasena I's assession. The above mentioned Sārnāth inscription; the Dāmodarapur inscrption[73] and the Eraṇ inscription[74], all of which

were issued by Budhagupta show that his authority was acknowledged all over the country from Bengāl to Central India. However, during the later stages of his rule Hūṇas started troubling him. This is evident from the fact that though the Eraṇ inscription, which is dated G.E. 165, i.e. A.D. 484-85, mentions Mahārāja Mātriviṣṇu as the governor of eastern Mālwā and the subordinate of Buddhagupta; the next inscription[75] from the same place, which is dated in the first regnal year of Toramaṇa states that Mātriviṣṇu was then dead and his brother Dhanyaviṣṇu, who owed alligance[76] to Toramaṇa, was its governor. Later when Bhānùgupta ascended on the throne of Magadha, he also had to contend with the Hūṇas. The Eraṇ inscription[77], dated G.E. 191, i.e., A.D. 510 also testifies that Bhānugupta's general Goparāja, died in a very famour battle, evidently while fighting against the Hūṇas. Further, as R.D. Banerji[78] maintains, Bhānnagupta was also defeated by the Hūṇa king Toramaṇa who now wrested Mālwā from the Guptas. The success of the Hūṇas in central India, however, was short-lived, and according to the evidence of the *Āryа-Mañju-Śri-MūlaKalpa*[79], Toramaṇa died soon after defeating Bhānugupta and Goparāja. These circumstances led to an alliance between the Vākāṭaka ruler Hariṣeṇa[80] and the Maitraka ruler Dharasena I, primarily for ousting the Hūṇas. This theory has some basis, for it is known that during this period king Hariṣeṇa conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kośala, Trikuta, Lāta, Āndhra[81], etc. and acquired sovereign powers over these countries which were under the sway of the Hūṇas and the Guptas, only a few years before this event. This alliance is further substantiated by the fact that a marriage had taken place between the Vākāṭakas of Avanti and Maitrakas of Valabhi. The princess chosen for the marriage

seems to have been Chandralekhā, who is described in the *Daraśanasāra* of Devasena as the daughter of the king of Ujjaini and the queen of Dhruvasena I of Valabhipura[82]. The latter must have benefited immensely from this alliance, but the assumption of Virji[83], that as a consequence of this alliance the Maitrakas were promoted to an exalted position of the principal subordinate ally of the mighty Vākātakas, seems to be far fetched[84].

It is noteworthy that the founder of the Maitraka dynasty, Bhatārka, as well as his immediate successor Dharasena I, did not assume any royal title formally and were content with styling themselves with comparatively humble title of *Senāpati*[85]. Though the Gupta empire had weakened, it still maintained some of its past glory. The time was still not ripe for the first two Maitraka rulers to openly declare their independence. Thus to save their newly born empire from any undue duress, they formally acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas.

Bhatārka and Dharasena I could only manage to lay the foundation for future consolidation and expansion of the Maitraka rule. They were unable to either organize or stabilize their principalities, a fact borne out by the complete absence of any copperplate grants of their own. It was only during the reign of the third ruler of the dynasty, Droṇasiṁha, that we come from darkness to light. He was the younger brother and successor of Dharasena I and the earliest known grant of the Maitrakas belongs to him[86]. His rule probably extended from c. A.D. 502[87] to 524[88]. Though in the Bhamodar Mohota grant, Droṇasiṁha has assumed the imperial title of *Mahārāja*[89], the acquisition seems dubious because in the same inscription he is mentioned as having been invested with sovereignty

"by the great lord, the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole earth".[90] This paramount ruler came in person to install Droṇasiṁha in royalty by performing the *abhiśeka* ceremony[91]. Then again, in the same epigraph *Mahārāja* Droṇasiṁha is described as 'meditating on the feet of his supreme overlord.'[92] Thus it appears that the Maitrakas were not yet independent and paid homage to their overlord. Reference to an overlord of the Maitrakas occur in the Watson Museum plates of Dharasena II, dated A.D. 589-90[93] and in other inscriptions of the dynasty as well.[94] Thus, as against Bhatārka and Dharasena I, who were merely military chiefs, Droṇasiṁha probably became a feudal lord.

Dhruvasena I, third son of Bhatārka, but first of the several Maitraka rulers of that name succeeded his brother Droṇasiṁha and had a fairly long reign. He ruled from c. A.D. 525 to 547.[95] Among the Maitraka rulers, he issued the largest number of land grant charters.[96] But inspite of all this, even this Maitraka ruler does not seem to have been wholly free from the influence of an overlord. He too bore the epithet of *param-bhattāraka-pād-ānudhyata*[97], meaning thereby, "he who mediates on the feet of his sovereign". This along with the fact that he bears the titles of *mahasamanta* in his Palitana plates[98] and that of *mahā-pratihara, mahādandanāyaka* and *mahākartakrtika* in the Valā grant,[99] show that upto this time the Maitraka kings were not entirely independent and owed allegiance to an overlord, how so ever nominal it may have been; for no independent ruler would like to assume feudatory titles.

There has been a great debate on the overlordship of the Maitrakas. Which was the ruling dynasty to whom the early Maitrakas owed allegiance and whose sovereignty they

acknowledged? Scholars have offered various suggestions on the question. They have generally confined themselves to identifying the emperor who installed the first chief of the family, Droṇasiṁha, on the throne. V.A. Smith[100] identified him with the Huna king Toramaṇa while K.J. Virji[101] equated him to the last known Vākāṭaka ruler of the Vatsagulma branch, Hariṣeṇa. As against these views, A. Cunningham,[102] B.P. Sinhā,[103] Buddha Prakash[104] and H.G. Śhāstri[105] were inclined to identify him with one of the last Gupta Kings,*viz.*, Budhagupta, Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, Vainyagupta and Bhānugupta respectively. The earlier two views are no longer taken seriously as they lack the support of any strong evidence. In 1954, R.C. Majumdār[106] felt strongly inclined in favour of the Imperial Guptas to be the overlords of the Maitrakas in general. He maintains that it is difficult to think of any other power which held such an exalted position from about 475 to 550 A.D. Further, he avers that the final overthrow of the imperial Gupta dynasty between A.D. 550 and 570 fully explains the absence of all references to its suzerainty in Valabhi records since the time of Guhasena[107]. This openion of Majumdār with reference to the early Maitrakas is shared by other historians like V.V. Mirāshi,[108] S.R. Goyal,[109] P.L. Gupta[110] and D. Devahuti[111].

But just like the theories enunciated earlier, the last one pertaining to the Guptas also falls flat on ground, on close scrutiny. First of all these is no evidence of the Gupta rule in Gujarāt – Saurāṣtra after Skanda Gupta. Again, no post Skanda Gupta inscription of the Gupta dynasty has been found from the area. Further, after Skanda Gupta no Gupta silver coinage of the western India type[112] has been reported to date. Though we posses silver coins of Budhagupta, they are all of

the 'Madhyadeśa type'.[113] Lastly, the supposition of R.C. Majumdar regarding the supremacy of the Guptas *vis-à-vis* other powers after A.D. 475, is negatived by the Ajantā inscription[114] of Vākātaka king Hariṣeṇa, which describes him as the conqurer of Kuntala, Kośala, Kalinga, Āndhra, Trikuta, Lāta etc.

Obviously, after Skanda Gupta, Gujarāt was lost by the Guptas. On the other hand, we have epigraphic evidence which leaves no room for doubt that during the same period the Aulikaras of Mālwā emerged as a great power and played a significant role in the contemporary politics. From the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta[115], we know that at least upto Vikrama era 529, i.e., 473 A.D., he Aulikaras continued to acknowledge the authority of the Imperial Guptas.[116]

Some time after this but prior to 490 A.D., Ādityavardhana, who is mentioned as the sovereign of the Manavayani chief Gauri in the fragmentary Mandasor stone inscription[117], came to power. Hence we can assume quite reasonably, that Gauri was vassal of Ādityavardhana or his predecessor from the very beginning. It seems that Ādityavardhana and his immediate predecessor did not owe allegiance to the Guptas and it is likely that the former or his family came to power shortly after 474 A.D. In case he belonged to the Aulikara family, which is highly probable in view of his description as the ruler of Daśapura (Mandasor), he may have been a collateral member of the family brought to light by the Riśthal stone inscription of Prakāśadharmana, dated 515-16 A.D.[118] In that case he may have been a brother of Rājyavardhana, father of Prakāśadharmana. Till about 1980, nothing was known about the antecedents of Yaśodharmana *alias* Viṣṇuvardhana, who is known to have been

ruling in 532 A.D.[119] But the discovery of the Riṣthal inscription, which is removed from the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharmana's time by only sixteen years, has demonstrated that Prakāśadhaman was the predecessor, probably father, of Yaśodharmana-Viṣhṇuavrdhana and that his rise was not meteoric as till then believed. There can be no doubt that these two rules, who were powerful sovereigns, defeated the Hūṇa kings, Toramana and his son Mihirakula respectively. Yaśodharmana was probably followed by Mahārājadhirāja Dravyavardhana, who is known from a reference in Varāmihira's *Brihatsaṁhitā*.[120] As he is described as an Avantika king by Varāhamihira, he appears to have been ruling from Ujjayini. Whether he himself shifted his capital from Daśapura to Ujjayini or it was shifted to the latter city by his predecessor, Yasodharmana himself, towards the close of his reign, cannot be decided at present for the want of adequate evidences.[121]

Anyhow, we can safely conclude that from about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. to the middle of the following century, the Aulikaras were supreme in Mālwā and its adjoining region. What is noticeable in this connection is that Yaśodharmana-Viṣṇuvardhana claims to have defeated many rulers[122] and assumed the imperial titles of *Rajādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*.

The growing dominance of the Aulikaraas is also attested by the Sanjeli (Pañchmahal District, Gujarāt) plates of Mahāraja Bhuta and Mātridāsa II[124]. These copper plates are three in number and while the first two belong to Bhuta the third was issued by Mātridāsa II (Bhuta's son and successor). The first record, which is dated in the third year, either of Bhuta's reign[125] or Toramaṇa's conquest of the region,[126] describes the former as ruling by the favour of

Paramabhattāraka Mahārājadhirāja Toramaṇa. But his next plate, dated year 6, though mentions him as *parama-bhattāraka-pādānudhyata*, does not name Toramaṇa. The same is true of the record of his son, Mātridāsa II, dated in the year 19. Thus it seems that their overlord also, barring the short Hūṇa interregnum, was apparently the contemporary Aulikara King.

Thus the latest and for that matter, the most convincing view[127], favours the Aulikaras as the overlords of the first five Maitraka chiefs. The first member of the family, Bhatarka, may have possibly, begun his career as *senāpati* under the Guptas but was soon compelled by the force of political circumstances to shift allegiance to the Aulikaras. (For details of the Aulikara dynasty please refer to Exhibit No. 3.3). Dharasena I, continued to owe allegiance to the Aulikara s, probably Ādityavardhana, who may have also installed Dronasimha on the throne and allowed him to use the feudal title of *mahārāja*. Alternatively, he might have been anointed by Rājyavardhana or his son Prakāśadharman. The next Maitraka chief Dhruvasena I, must have owed allegiance to Yaśodharmana-Viṣṇuvardhana and his successor, Dravyavardhana. Dhruvasena I's successor Dharapatta was also a feudatory chief of the last known Aulikara king, Dravyavardhana.

Dhruvasena I was a worthy successor to the warlike rulers that had preceded him on the throne of Valabhi. He is described in the grants to have, "like a lion, defeated single-handed by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (his) enemies; and to have the refuge of those who sought protection."[128] We have clear evidence of the enhancing of the Maitraka power under Dhruvasena I, as we come across a copper plate grant of Garulaka

king, Varahadāsa II of Girnar, dated A.D. 549[129], in which Varahadāsa II acknowledges Dhruvasena I as his overlord. Some idea of the extension of the territory under Dhruvasena I is formed on the basis of his numerous land grant charters. These charters were issued from various places like Valabhi, Hathab[130], and the military camp at Khuddavediya[131]; and the incipients came from distant places as Simhapura (Sihor)[132], Nagaraka (Nagra in Kaira district)[133] and Ānandpura (Vādnagar in Mehsānā district)[134]. Thus, it appears that in the north the Maitraka sway must have included Vādnagar, while in the west it extended upto Saurāṣtra. However, it is significant that Varahadāsa I claimed victory over the lord of Dwārika[135]. Therefore, it seems that the Maitrakas were yet to claim territorial rights in western Saurāṣtra. The Maitraka expansion towards the east and south, beyond Valabhi, were also later developments.

Apart from this, Dhruvasena I also distinguished himself in literary activities. The records speak of his scholarly attainments[136] and his patronage of the learned[137]. Further, he was liberal as well. As against all the previous Maitraka rulers who were described as 'Param Maheśvaras', Dhruvasena I is styled as 'Param Bhāgvata',[138] i.e., the ardent follower of Vaiṣṇavism. But despite his inclination towards Vaiṣṇavism, he was catholic in his outlook and gave liberal grants not only to Brāhmaṇas but also to the Buddhists. It is worthy of note, as stated in the A.D. 535 grant,[139] that his niece Dudda was Buddhist and had dedicated a Buddhist monastery at Valabhi. The Jain traditions also tell us that a public recital of *Kalpasutra* was arranged at Ānandpura for consoling this king, who had been afflicted by the sad demise of his son[140].

In the Maitraka epigraphs it is customary to find an expression: *tat-pāda-rājo-run-avanata-pavitrikrita*[141]

This epithet was used by a ruling king for paying respect to his predecessors, meaning thereby, "whose head was purified, bent before and reddened by the dust of his predecessor's feet".

The absence of this formula in the grants of Dhruvasena I has given rise to the suspicion that his accession was not a peaceful one. This is further substantiated by one of his grants, dated c. A.D. 525[142], in which it is stated, "that he acquired the throne by the strength of his own arms"[143].

Thus one may be tempted to infer from this that Dhruvasena I ascended the throne after a successful rebellion against his brother. But this hypothesis is unwarranted, for the above mentioned epithet refers not to a disputed succession but to the fact that during the last days of his predecessor Droṇasiṁha or immediately on his accession to the throne the Maitrakas were attacked by a superior power, which was subdued only by the strength of Dhruvasena I's own efforts. Further, it could also indicate the reaffirmation of the Maitraka authority after the death of Yaśodharmaṇa, their overlord. Moreover, in one of the epigraphs of Dhruvasena,[144] this epithet conveying respect to the elders is very much in existence.

Curiously enough, no grant of Dharapatta, who was the aging younger brother of Dhruvasena I and the youngest son of Bhatrarka, has been found to date. Nor does his name find a place in the epigraphs of his son Guhasena[145]. This has led many to declare that he never sat on the throne of Valabhi. However, what is interesting is the fact that in the grant of Guhasena's son Dharasena II, Dharapatta is styled as *Mahārāja* and is spoken of as a ruling king. Even on

examining some of the copper plate grants of Guhasena, some discrepancies can be seen in this regards. In the earliest known grant of Guhasena, dated V.S. 240[146] (i.e., A.D. 559), we come across only the second plate which begins with the passage on Guhasena himself, while the first plate is missing. Thus the missing first plate leaves the case undecided as far as this record is concerned. Though, in case of another grant of Guhasena, dated vs. 248[147], both the plates are well preserved, in this particular case as well, the author while editing the grant, has given neither the transcript nor the facsimile of the first plate. Finally, a gap of approximately ten years between the latest grant of Dharapatta's predecessor Dhruvasena I (dated, V.S. 230, i.e., A.D. 549)[148] and the earliest known grant of his successor Guhasena (dated, V.S. 240, i.e., A.D. 559)[149], favours the succession of Dharapatta to the Maitraka throne. We have not much information regarding Dharapatta, but from whatever meagre resources we have regarding him, it seems that he was a *paramāditya-bhakta*[150], i.e. a Sun worshipper.

In the above context one aspect needs to be highlighted. The pattern of succession of the Maitraka kings suggest that they had a tradition of the *anuja*, i.e., the younger brother, having precedence over the son. There is also a phrase : *tat-pāda-ānudhyataḥ*, used by each succeeding king for his immediate predecessor, signifying that each king naturally showed reverence to his elder brother who selected him to be the next king.

As already mentioned, the first five Maitraka rulers from Bhatārka to Dharapatta bore only subordinate titles like *maharaja* (great king), *mahā-sāmanta* (great chief), *mahāpratihāra* (the great doorkeeper or chamberlian), *mahā-dandanāyaka* (the great

magistrate), and *mahā-kartākrita* (the great general) collectively known as *Pañcha-mahāśabda*; however, the later rulers from Guhasena onwards assumed the epithets like *mahārājadhirāja* and *parmeśvara*. This shows that while the early Maitraka rulers were mere feudatories, the later one's assumed full independence.

Guhasena, the son and successor of Dharapatta, was perhaps the first great and independent king of the Maitraka lineage. From this time onwards we have no reference to the sovereign overlord of the Maitrakas and hence it is hardly surprising to find Guhasena using only the epithet of *mahārāja*[151] and dropping the title of *mahā-sāmanta*. He has appropriately been called the first great Maitraka ruler, for in the later records of the family since Śilāditya I's time, the conventional genealogy of the royal family begins with Guhasena, the descendent of Bhatārka, the names of all the intervening rulers being omitted altogether[152]. From his epigraphs[153] it can be deduced that he reigned from about 559 to 570 A.D.[154] What is interesting is that during his reign, apart from the copper plate grants, a fragmentary stone inscription has also been issued.[155] One more inscription recording the name of Guhasena and dated in V.S. 247, i.e. A.D. 566[156] was found inscribed on a small clay-pot discovered at Valā.

From the Jaunpur stone inscription[157] of the Maukhari ruler Iśvaravarman it is known that he had reached the Raivātaka mountain, a region which was included in Guhasena's territories. The details of this invasion are, however, not specified in the inscription. Nevertheless, judging by the epithets borne by Guhasena, it may be said that he successfully repulsed his enemy. We are told in his own records that "the heads of (his) enemies were made to bow down by his prowess"[158].

This attempted annexation of the Maitraka empire may have taken place some where in the beginning of Guhasena's rule and the concluding years of the reign of Iśvaravarman[159]; for we know, from the Harāha inscription[160] that in the Vikrama Samvat 611, i.e., A.D. 544, Iśnavarman, who was the son of Iśvaravarman succeeded to the throne. This victory over the Maukharis went a long way in streghtening Guhasena's position as an independent king.

The eulogists pay high compliments to king Guhasena's prowess and valour. He is said to have propitiated the hearts of his people righteously and became a *rājan* in the real sense of the term.[161] He governed his subjects according to the injunctions of the *smrtis* and replenished the royal treasury.[162] He is invariably described as 'Dhaneśa' and 'Bṛhaspati'.[163] He appears to be a skilled warrior and his sword, we are told, was his second arm from childhood.[164]

A.K. Forbes[165], on the basis of a bardic tradition tradition suggests that there was a division of the Maitraka empire after Guhasean. While his elder son Dharasena II reigned at Valabhi, his younger son Guhāditya ruled from Edar (Idar). It is believed that the latter's successors migrated from Edar to Chittor (Mewār) and established the Guhilot[166] dynasty there. But not much emphasis can be laid on such bardic tales.

Any how, Guhasena represented himself as a *parama maheśvara* in his edicts dated 559 and 564 A.D., but professed to be a *parama upāsaka* in his edict issued in 567 A.D. This shows that while he was a Śhavite in the beginning, ultimately he leaned towards Buddhism.

Guhasena was succeeded by his son Dharasena II who ruled from about A.D. 570 to 590[167]. He issued a larger number of land

grants during his reign. Dharasena II's epigraphs show fluctuations in the titles he assumed. In two of his earlier grants he assumed the ordinary title of *sāmanta*[168]. However, in his records of the years A.D. 588[169] and 589[170] although he is given the ordinary titles of *mahā-sāmanta* and *mahārāja* respectively, in the text; he is described as *mahārājadhirāja* in the royal signature. Infact, earlier also, in the record dated vs 254, i.e., A.D. 573[171], Dharasena II appears with his former title of *mahārāja*.

These deviations in the imperial titles adopted by Dharasena II, whereby, he used the title of *sāmanta* in his initial days and changed to the title of *mahārāja* within two year, should be understood in the context of the Maukhari invasion. K.J Virji[172] suggests that Dharasena II had to face the Maukhari menace in the early years of his reign and had to fight a war when he dared to assume the title of *maharaja*. As against her view, however, one need not conclude here that a direct political relationship with the Maukharis was forged. This is so because in spite of the acquisition of the title of *mahārājadhirāja*[173] and other high sounding epithets[174] by the contemporary Maukhari ruler Isnavarman, his records does not mention the Maitrakas as his subordinates.

A single copper plate grant[175] reveals the existence of a family called Garulaka of feudatory chiefs consisting of *Senāpati* Varahadāsa I, his two sons Bhaṭṭisura and Varahadāsa II, and the latter's son Siṁhaditya, the last three having the title *sāmant-mahārāja*. The change in titles is analogues to that of the Maitraka chiefs themselves. As the grant was issued by Siṁhaditya in A.D. 574, he was therefore a contemporary feudatory of Dharasena II. The grant mentions that Varahadāsa II defeated a ruler of Dwārika. Whether this fight denoted

an extension of the Maitraka power to the western extremity of Saurāṣtra, which was till now independent, or whether it refers to a rebellion of a feudatory, it is difficult to say. Anyhow, attempts at controlling local chiefs continued to be an important feature of the territorial and political process of regional state formation under the Maitrakas. If one keeps in mind their political background, the context of recurring external invasions, and that the Maitraka ruler Dharasena II asserted himself again in A.D. 574, it seems likely that the Garulakas challenged Maitraka authority around A.D. 573-74.[176] However, the absence of any other charter of the Garulakas subsequent to A.D. 574, and the use of the title *sāmanta* for three successive generations of Garulakas thereafter, suggest the gradual incorporation of the Garulakas into the Maitraka state by the end of the sixth century.

It seems that Dharasena I had to strive hard against the rising power of Prabhākaravardhana and the later Gupta king Dāmodargupta or Mahāsenagupta of Mālwā. Issue of his grants from victorious camps suggest his encounter with the above kings.[177] Significantly enough, one of the attributes Dharasena II is assigned is one, "who averts calamities that would afflict (his) subjects".[178] This epithet is not only significant from the military point of view but also shows that he was liberal and cared for the welfare of his people.

Dharasena II seems to have distinguished himself in archery,[179] and is eulogized for his immense liberality, rare combination of wealth and learning[180], maintenance of religious grants issued by his predecessors[181] and other virtues.

Dharasena II was survived by two sons, Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I. According to the common belief among scholars,

Śilāditya I succeeded his father, towards the close of the sixth century A.D. Yuan Chwang,[182] while describing *Mo-la-po* (Mālwā), refers to its king Siladitya, who ruled over the country sixty years before the Chinese pilgrims visit to Valabhi in c. A.D. 640. This would place the reign of Śilāditya in about A.D. 580. The *Āryа-Mañju-Śri-Mūla Kalpa*[183] assigns to him a reign of thirty years, though without specifying the exact dates.

But both these suppositions appear to be untrue on close scrutiny. All the epigraphs of Śilāditya I are dated between A.D. 605 and 611. In all likelihood, this was the actual period of his reign.

As stated earlier, the known dates of Maitraka king Dharasena II fall between vs. 252-270, i.e., A.D. 571-589. Thus, there seems to be a void of about fifteen years in the political history of the Maitraka dynasty.

This vacuum could be filled if the name of king Viṣṇusena is added to the already existing list of twenty one sovereigns of the Maitraka dynasty. Uptil now we have come across only a single charter of Viṣṇusena, apparently found in Gujarāt region, dated A.D. 592[184]. The relation of this king to the Maitraka family can be established on a few grounds. First of all, Viṣṇusena is endowed with precisely the same five feudatory titles, *viz., mahārāja, mahāsāmanta, mahāpratihāra, mahādandanāyaka* and *mahakartākrita*, collectively known as *Pañch-mahāśabda*.[185] which were acquired by the Maitraka rulers.[186] Secondly, the charter issued by him is addressed to the same set of officials (*viz., Āyuktaka, Viniyuktaka, Śaulkika, Chourodharaṇika, Drangika, Ćata, Bhata* etc; and especially *Dhruvādhikarṇa* – an official peculiar to the records of Maitrakas), which were mentioned in the Maitraka grants. Then again, Viṣṇusena

has the interesting epithet *parambhatārka-śribavā-pād-ānudhyata*, i.e., meditating on the feet of the illustrious *bavā* (uncle), which reminds of the several Maitraka kings (e.g. Śilāditya III and Śilāditya IV and others) who acquired and used the same title. Further, in connection with the possible relation of the issuer of this charter, reference could also be made to his name, Viṣṇusena or Viṣṇubhata. We know that the names of the Maitraka kings ended usually with the word *sena* but some times also with the word *bhata*. What is, however, more interesting is that, as in the case of Viṣṇusena-Viṣṇubhata, sòme times a Maitraka ruler is also found to have brone a name ending with both *sena* and *bhata*, Dhruvasena II Bāldityа was also known as Dhrubhata or Dhruvabhata.[187]

Thus it seems that Viṣṇusena actually belonged to the Maitraka dynasty and his rule may be accommodated between A.D. 589 and 605, although it must be admitted that the introductory part of the epigraph under study does not follow that of the Maitraka records.[188] But it Lohāta (or Lohātaka grāma, the place from where Viṣṇusena's charter was issued and which was under the Maitraka dominions), and not Valabhi, was his headquarters, it is possible to suggest that he was ruling side by side with the Maitraka king or kings of Valabhi, even though he belonged to the same family. This was not some thing extraordinary, for we have other instances of rule in juxtaposition under the Maitrakas. Later on, Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I also ruled side by side. Lohāta is, however, mentioned as Lohātaka grāma in the endorsement and may have been merely a village in the dominions of Viṣṇusena. The exact relation of Viṣṇusena with his predecessor Dharasena II or his successor Śilāditya I is still unknown.

Next in the Maitraka lineage came Śilāditya I, who ruled from A.D. 605[189] to 611[190]. The king Śilāditya I *alias* Dharmāditya is referred to in quite glowing terms, by Yuan Chwang, who describes him as a man who, "from the time of his birth never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injure a living thing. His elephants and horses drank water that has been strained after which he gave it to them, lest any creature living in the water might be injred"[191]. The same pilgrim again pays him compliment and avers that he was a "monarch of great administrative ability and rare compassion".[192] Evidently, he gave liberal grants to a Mahādeva temple,[193] a Sun temple[194] and Buddhist *vihāras*.[195]

Apart from this, the *Śatruñjaya Mahātmya* also describes its author, Dhaneśvarasuri, as the tutor of Śilāditya I[196]. This speaks of the catholicity of the king. His ardent devotion deservingly won him the second name of 'Dharāmditya'[197].

There seems to have been some extension of the Maitraka territories about this time and it appears that the Maitrakas under Śilāditya I, were able to acquire Mālwā.[198] Evidences show that brahmanas from Daśapura (Mandasor) began to settle at Valabhi and received royal patronage of the Maitrakas during Śilāditya's reigns.[199] This acquisition is also supported by the earliest known grant (Virdi grant, dated Samvat. 297, i.e., A.D. 616)[200] of Śilāditya I's successor Kharagraha I, which was infact issued from Ujjain, the capital of Mālwā. The Maitraka penetration in Mālwā is also attested by Yuan Chwang,[201] who says that Śilāditya I ruled over *Mo-la-po*[202] or Mālwā with its dependencies of *Kita*, identified with Cutch or Kheda, Anandapura and *Su-la-cha* or Surat. While Yuan Chwang[203] believes that Śilāditya I was the king of Western Mālwā alone, the *Āryа-Mañju*

–*Śri-MūlaKalpa*[204] avers that Ujjain or Eastern Mālwā and the country of Lāta were also under him. Further another epigraphical reference to western Mālwā being under the Maitraka rule is contained in the Nogwā Grants of Dhruvasena II of G.S. 320-21 or c. A.D. 639-40[205].

During this period, the territory of *Mo-la-po* or Mālwā, it appears, was a bone of contention between various contemporary dynasties and was coveted by the Later Guptas, the Puśyabhūtis, the Kālāchuris, the Maukharis and the Maitrakas. Now, Maukharis were the traditional enemies of the Guptas of Mālwā (Later Guptas)[206] In the ensuing battle Dāmodargupta defeated the Maukharis. But towards the end of the sixth century A.D. the Later Guptas of Mālwā had to contend with the Kālachuris[207]. At the time of this conflict Mahāsenagupta, the son of Dāmodargupta was at the helm. This conflict probably arose due to the designs of Devagupta, who evidently was a scion of the Gupta family.[208] It seems that Mahasenagupta suffered disaster at the hands of Devagupta-Kālachuri combination and was probably killed in the ensuring battle.[209] Now the Puśyabhutis came into the picture and supported the claims of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, the two sons of Mahāsenagupta who were their relatives[210]. Shortly afterwards, Prabhākarvardhana probably led an expedition against Malwa[211] which was under the Kālachuris[212]. Though Prabhākarvardhana claims to have taken the glory of the Kālāchuris and their feudatory Devagupta,[213] in reality he failed to do so.[214]

Meanwhile, it appears that after the reign of Dharasena II, which ended in c. A. D. 589, there ensued a Maitraka-Kālāchuri rivalry. We gather that the Maitraka king Viṣṇusena claimed some relation with his overlord. This overlord in all probability was the

Kālachuri king Sankaragana, whose Abhona plates are dated in the Kālachuri year 347, i.e., 595 A.D.,[215] and which mention his firm hold over Ujjain. Śankaragaṇa died sometime before A.D. 602.[216] Though the Chālukyas checked the power of Śankaragaṇa's son Buddharaja, his subjugation was not easy. This is evident from the Chālukyan inscriptions.[217] The Chālukyans were lucky that the Kālchuri king had to fight against an alliance of the Puśyabhūtis and the Maukharis[218].

Any how, from the Sarasavni plates of Buddharaja, dated in the year 361 (609 A.D.),[219] it appears that his sway extended as far as the Bharukaccha viśaya. Thus it may be stated here that Śilāditya I could not have occupied Mālwā region before A.D. 609 as upto this juncture the Maitrakas remained in the background.

But soon taking advantage of the sanguinary skirmish around them, the Maitrakas regained power in the region; a fact proved by the Virdi copper plate of the year 616-17, which shows that Ujjain was under their rule. The lead in this respect was taken by Śilāditya I's younger brother Kharagraha, and thus there seems to have ensued a rivalry for power between the two brothers. Ujjain remained with them till it was captured by Chālukya Pulakeśin II, some time before A.D. 623[220].

Since Harṣavardhana ruled from A.D. 606-647, Śilāditya I, along with his successors Kharagraha I, Dharasena III, Dhruvasena II and Dharasena IV, was his contemporary. H.G. Shastri states that when the Gupta king of Mālwā was defeated by Harṣa, Śilāditya I extended his reign over Western Mālwā.[221] However, the Puśyabhuti and Maitraka interests also clashed over Mālwā. This can be deduced from the Gurjara records.[222]

We have reasons to believe that Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I had some dispute about the leadership of the family and the former conceded[223] the throne to his younger brother, who possibly as a result of compromise, succeeded him. The same event is referred to in polite words in the Amreli plates of Kharagraha I, dated G.S. 297, i.e. 616 A.D.[224] Infact, it is gathered that Kharagraha held the reins of the government, and hence the claims of Śilāditya's son Derabhatta[225] were set aside and he was forcibly expelled from the Maitraka kingdom[226].

It is worth mentioning here, that usually in the Maitraka grants the office of the *dutaka* was assigned to the *yuvarāja*. Now it is seen that in first six grants of Śilāditya I, the *dutaka* was a high official named Bhattadityayasas,[227] while in the later grants from vs 290 onwards, the *dutaka* was *Kharagraha*[228]. This proves that probably Derabatta was not in the good books of his father and was never installed as *yuvarāja*.

It seems that while Derabhatta established a separate branch of the Maitraka lineage in the Vindhya Sahya region, the capital city of Valabhi and the main portions of the Maitraka dominions were retained by Kharagraha I. It is noteworth that the disputes for the throne like the one that ensued between Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I, are not unfrequent in India. Infact, we have another instance of this kind in the Maitraka dynasty itself, where the younger brother Dhruvasena III, superseding his elder brother Kharagraha II, usurped the throne. Eventually Kharagraha II had to take back by force, the throne, from his younger brother.[229]

Kharagraha I obviously had a brief tenure, for his earliest known grant is dated c. A.D. 616, while the earliest available grant of

his son and successor, Dharasena III, bears the date A.D. 623.[230] Kharagraha I is also known by the name of Isvaragraha.[231]

Incidentally, the *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-MūlaKalpa* which names him as *Chapala*,[232] gives for the first time, an account of how Kharagraha I met with his death. His lust for women was the immediate cause of his assassination by his own soldiers.[233]

Kharagraha I was succeeded by his son Dharasena III. His only dated grant bears vs. 304, i.e., c. A.D. 623,[234] while the earliest known grant of his successor Dhruvasena II is dated vs. 310, i.e., A.D. 629[235]. He is eulogised in his epigraphs for his liberty[236], learning[237] and the cultural upliftment of his kingdom.[238] His tenure was a also short one as the date of his earliest known grant also coincided with the fateful year when Pulakeśin II's forces invaded the 'north-western' countries.[239] Thus it seems that Pulakeśin II also attacked and defeated the Maitrakas and the latter were reduced to a feudatory status for a considerable period of time. The fact that the Bhāvnagar Grant of Dharasena III[240] was issued from a military camp at Kheṭaka also proves that the Maitrakas had to contend with some external force. That they were defeated by this external power, which was in all probability the Chalukyans under Pulakeśin II is substantiated by the non-assumption of the royal title of *mahārāja* by Dharasena III and his successor Dhruvasena II, in their inscriptions.

Dhruvasena II *alias* Bālāditya, who was the younger brother of Dharasena III, succeeded him to the throne in c.A.D. 629[241] and ruled upto A.D. 642[242]. He was a contemporary of Daḍḍa II[243] of Broach and Harṣavardhana of Kanauj for most of his reign. Yuan Chwang's *Tu- lu- po- po- ta* or Dhruvabhatta, was undoubtedly this Dhruvasena II[244], during whose reign he visited Valabhi in *circa*

A.D.640. The Chinese pilgrim introduces this king in his records as the nephew of Śilāditya of *Mo-la-po* (the Maitraka king Śilāditya I) and son-in-law[245] of the king Śilāditya of Kanauj (Emperor Harṣhavardhana). Dhruvasena II, as the same traveller states, "was of hasty temper and of a shallow mind and recently he has attached himself to Buddhism"[246]. But his inscriptions eulogise him as proficient in polity as well as grammar[247].

The inscriptions of the Gurjjars of Broach exultingly mentions the fact that Daḍḍa II (A.D. 629-641) *alias* Praśāntarāga obtained glory by protecting the lord of Valabhi[248], when the latter had been overpowered by the great lord or Parameśvara, the illustrious Harṣadeva[249]. This suggests that a conflict took place between the Puśyabhūtis and the Maitrakas, during the reign of Harṣavardhana. The identity of the king of Valabhi with whom Harṣa fought depends upon the date of the battle between the two. It is generally assumed that this Maitraka ruler was Dhruvasena II[250]. R.C. Majumdār[251] thinks that Harṣha's war with Dhruvasena II of Valabhi ultimately led to the war between Harṣa and Pulakeśin II. The possible reason suggested for this is that there was a confederacy[252] consisting of the Lātas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras, headed by Pulakeśin against Harṣa, and when the latter attacked Dhruvabhata (Dhruvasena II), the lord of Valabhi, he was involved in a war with the Chālukya king. This assertion is based on the statement of the Aihole inscription which states that possibly, "impressed by the majesty and power of Pulakeśin, these states had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection[253]. The flight of Dhruvasena II for shelter to the court of the Gurjara king Daḍḍa II has been dated A.D. 632 on the basis of his third grant[254]; for the rest of Dhruvasena II's grants follow after a gap

of six years,[255] which signify that Dhruvasena II was not in full control of his dominions. But the gap theory cannot be over emphasised because our only source of information regarding the Harsa-Dhruvasena II battle comes from the Nausari grant of Jayabhatta III, (Jayabhatta III was successor of Daḍḍa II), in which the Gurjara king credited with the protection of Dhruvasena II. Incidentally, the two earliest known grants of Daḍḍa II, dated A.D. 629 and 634, are absolutely silent about this protection given to the Valabhi king[256].

Anyhow, it has been held that Dhruvasena II, being completely defeated, was compelled to sue for peace and to accept the hand of the victor's daughter[257]. It has been pointed out, on the contrary, that the offer of a daughter's hand in marriage which involves humility cannot be expected in a victor[258]. But this theory of complete defeat had no ground to stand upon in Ancient India, as instances are not wanting where hostilities between two contending sovereigns were closed by matrimonial alliances.

This alliance has been constructed as a diplomatic move on the part Harṣa to win over Dhruvasena II. He married his daughter to the Maitraka ruler, thus sealing the alliance. As a *quid pro quo* Dhruvasena II probably vowed not to conspire with the Chalukyas again. This relationship gave the Maitraka ruler an eminent place among the feudatory kings that assembled at the court of emperor Harṣa.[259]

A question is often asked – how could a small feudatory state offer protection to a powerful Valabhi king against an even more formidable opponent. The successful opposition to Harṣa on the part of a petty chief is so important an event that the silence of Daḍḍa II's records in this respect requires an explanation. Daḍḍa II could dare to

fight Harṣa only because he got support from the Chālukyan king Pulakeśin II, who was the former's overlord and who bore the brunt of the struggle.[260]

The fact that Dhruvasena II was present to the assembly convoked by Harṣa at Prayāga in A.D. 643[261]; along with the evidence of the first known grant of his successor Dharasena IV, dated A.D. 645[262], indicate that Dhruvasena II's rule probably extended even after A.D. 642, the date of his last known grant.

Despite these troubles it seems that the Maitraka dominions witnessed expansion during the reign of Dhruvasena II. From the two Nogwā plates of vs. 320[263] and vs. 321[264] (A.D. 639 and 640 respectively), it appears the Maitraka empire extended upto Ratlām, (56 kms. to the west of Ujjain), which would imply that all the inter mediate territories between Valabhi and Ratlām were under Dhruvasena II's sway. The whole of northern and central Gujarāt may thus be said to have formed part of the Maitraka kingdom.

Dharasena IV, the son of Dhruvasena II, was the next king who ascended the throne of Valabhi. On the basis of the many high sounding titles[265] like *paramabhattārka*, *mahārājadhirāja*, *parameśvara* and *chakravartin*, he is regarded as the most powerful and greatest king of the Maitraka dynasty. His tenure extended from A.D. 645 and 649.[266] He is believed to have expressed obeisance to his *ajjaka*[267] (material grand father), emperor Harṣa. Thus it was only during the years of chaos and confusion that followed Harṣa's death in 648 A.D., that Dharasena IV could emerge out as an independent ruler[268]. Though the title of *mahārājadhirāja* was used by many of the subsequent kings, Dharasena IV was the only Maitraka ruler who aspired to be a *chakravartin* (a universal ruler whose powers cannot

be withstood even by the gods).[269] Although he ruled for a short period he increased the prestige of the dynasty. Much of his strength stemmed from the fact that the Chālukyan power had rapidly declined after the death of Pulakeśin II in c. A.D. 642.[270] Further, he prospered due to the slackening of Harṣa's hold on the outlaying provinces during the last stages of the latter's reign. As can be deduced from above, Dharasena IV assumed imperial titles only towards the fag end of Harṣa's reign. Dharasena's tenure thus marks an important epoch in the history of the Maitrakas.

As mentioned above, thus far, the Maitraka sway had extended upto Ujjain in the east, but the southern parts of Gujarāt were not included in their dominions. King Dharasena IV marched south wards and his victorious military encampment at Broach (Bharukachha) in A.D. 648[271] suggests the extension of his sway over Lātadesa or South Gujarāt. This shows that he confronted with the Gurjara kings who had earlier rendered help to his predecessor. Meanwhile, Harsa died without a heir[272] and as the *Āryа-Mañju-Śri-MūlaKalpa* suggests, he was probably succeeded by Dharasena IV[273], who was his grandson. Thus the territories under Harṣa also came into the Maitraka fold. Further, the same text avers that the Later Gupta king Ādityasena started his reign as a subordinate of this Maitraka ruler[274]. This assumption, however, is far fetched as we have no evidence of the Maitraka expansion upto Magadha where Ādityasena was ruling. Any how, from the Maitraka epigraphs upto the time of Dharasena IV and facts discussed above, it can be deduced that apart from the region of Saurāṣtra, central Gujarāt and the Sahya country, the Maitraka dominions also extended upto western Mālwā and Broach in south Gujarāt.

The *Chakravartin* is described as being dexterous in the theory as well as practice of archery.[275] He is said to have levied light taxation on the land[276] and is treated as having liberal[277] disposition. A number of feudatories held obeisance to Dharasena IV.[278] But he enjoyed a short reign and left no son to succeed him.[279]

Dharasena IV's death was followed by a period of turmoil; for we find a quick succession of kings in an irregular order. As Dharasena IV left no male heir, Dhruvasena III, who was a grandson of Śilāditya I (the latter being the elder brother of Dharasena's grand father Kharagraha I), ascended on the throne[280]. Thus after Dharasena IV, the succession was restored to the elder branch of the Maitrakas, the line of Śilāditya I and his son Derabhatta. Dhruvasena III was the youngest son of Derabhatta (Derabhatta had three sons), and was probably incharge of a district near Vindhya mountains; the erstwhile conquest of Derabhatta, his father; before his succession to the throne of Valabhi. As mentioned above this Dhruvasena superseded his elder brother Kharagraha II and usurped the throne. Eventually, however, Kharagraha II had to take back the kingdom by force from him.[281]

Dharasena III ruled for a very short span. He issued three copper plate grants in total[282]. The first of these is dated vs. 332, i.e., A.D. 651, while the last one is undated. As the earliest known grant of his successor Kharagraha II is dated vs. 337, i.e., A.D. 656,[283] it could be deduced that Dharasena III reigned for four or five years only.

He issued a grant of land situated in Dakśinapatta of the Sivabhāgapura-visaya[284] (Sivrājpur district) which shows that he had hold over the region. The issuance of the Kapadavanj plates from a

military camp at Sirisimminika[285] by this ruler suggests a struggle with a hostile power about this time. This hostile power could have been none other than the Chālukyas, who revived their power, under Pulkasin II's son Vikramāditya I at this juncture. Of Vikramāditya, the records say that , "he conquered in many battles".... that he "acquired for himself the (regal) fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings".[286] That the Chālukyan king was victorious against Dhruvasena III can also be deduced from the assumption of lower titles by this Maitraka ruler. Thus the Maitrakas suffered a set back to their political fortunes during the reign of Dhruvasena III.

Kharagraha II *alias* Dharmāditya, who was the elder brother of the previous ruler Dhruvasena III, was the next king of Valabhi. The only known grant of this ruler is dated vs. 337, i.e., c. A.D. 656;[287] and the earliest known grant of his successor, Śilāditya II is dated vs. 343, i.e., A.D. 662[288]. This shows that like his predecessor he also enjoyed a short reign. As this grant was issued from the victorious camp of Pulindaka,[289] (situated near Barodā), it can be inferred that the war with the Chalukyas continued during the reign of this Maitraka ruler as well. The eulogists describe him as 'unprecented Puruṣhottama'[290] who like dharma incarnated established the various varṇas and āśramas.[291] Again, he is described as one who renewed the religious grants that had been confiscated by the previous sovereigns.[292] Like Dhruvasena III, king Kharagraha II also seems to have left no male issue on his death.

Kharagraha II was succeeded by his elder brother Śilāditya II. There seems to be some confusion in the genealogical lists given in the grants of Śilāditya II. His earliest known grant is dated vs. 342,

i.e., A.D. 661[293], and it has been described as belonging to Śilāditya III. In this grant the description of Śilāditya is given as that of Śilāditya II, his predecessor. Further, Śilāditya III is described in the epithets which are attributed to Śilāditya IV, in the grants of Śilāditya V and his successors. Based on this, A.S. Gadre[294] suggests that either the grant of G. 342 is a spurious one as it gives the date which belongs to the reign of Śilāditya III and the description of the donor king is that of his successor Śilāditya IV ; or the date may have been wrongly read. This inscription probably lead G. Bühler[295] to declare that Śilāditya II did not actually reigned. Thus in his genealogical table of the Maitrakas, this ruler is skipped over with the result that the last ruler of the dynasty, who issued the Alina copper plate grant in vs. 447, i.e., c. A.D. 766, is called Śilāditya VI[296]. This theory has been rightly refuted by J.F. Fleet.[297]

From the inscriptions of the Maitraka dynasty, it is evident that Śilāditya II who was the elder brother of Kharagraha II, ruled in juxtaposition to his son Śilāditya III[298]. This is proved by the overlapping inscriptions of the two sovereigns. (Please refer to Exhibit No. 3.5 for a detailed sequence of these epigraphs). The earliest known grant of Śilāditya II is dated vs. 343, i.e., c. A.D. 662[299] and the last known is dated, vs. 357, i.e., c. A.D. 676[300]. Thus his rule probably extended from A.D. 660 to 677. Now the question arises, as to how the two sovereigns ruled side by side from the seat of Valabhi at the same time. The answer to this problem is enunciated in the Alina grant of king Śilāditya VII, which mentions Śilāditya II as "the lord of the earth whose breast is the mountain Vindhya."[301] This description suggests that like his father Derabhatta, Śilāditya II was

the master of the territory around the Vindhya mountains while Śilāditya III, his son, held his sway at Valabhi.

One of Śilāditya II's grant record that he "day by day increased (his) circle of accomplishments, like the new cool rayed (moon) day by day, increasing (its) digits"[302]. Thus it may be assumed that slowly, Śilāditya II increased his sphere of influence. But the exact information is lacking in this regard.

Paramabhattārka, Mahārājadhirāja Śilāditya III, son of Śilāditya II, next occupied the Valabhi throne. This is deduced from his grants, which are dated vs. 346-365, i.e., c. A.D. 665 to 684[303]. Beginning with him all the succeeding Maitraka rulers bore the common name of Śilāditya and inherited the usual imperial titles *Parambhattāraka-Mahārājadhirāja-Parmeśvara.*[304] Hence forth, the pontiff of *Bappā* to whom the king held obeisance was also endowed with these honorific titles in all the copper plates of the Maitraka kings.[305]

Śilāditya III's grants record donations of land, situated in Simhapura[306] (modern Sihor), Hastavaprāhara,[307] Saurāṣtra,[308] Khetaka,[309] Bharukachha[310] (Broach) and Barodā,[311] apart from land donations made in Valabhi. This shows that Śilāditya III was a very powerful monarch who ruled over a vast empire. Of all the territories mentioned above, the land donations in Broach is of specific importance. The Anastu copper plate grant of Śilāditya III, dated vs. 357, i.e. 676 A.D.,[312] mentions the donation of a field in the village Antika situated in the *viśaya* of Bharukachha (Broach) to a brahmana who had emigrated from Girinagara and was them residing at Śradhika, modern Sadhi, about 8 kms. south west of Padra in the

Barodā district. This shows that Śilāditya III extended his sway over Broach as well.

But we have evidences at our disposal with show that not only the region of Broach was under the Gurjaras, but it was also their capital during in this period.[313] Thus a conflict ensued between the Maitrakas and the Gurjaras over the possession of Broach.

It seems that soon after his accession in (c.A.D. 675), Dadda III made an incursion into the Valabhi Kindgom[314] in relation for the previous invasion by the Maitrakas under Dharasena IV. Inspite of the claims of Daḍḍa III, it is not known whether he was able to defect Śilāditya III, who, as is evident from his high sounding titles, was a powerful king. But even if he did, the latter soon took revenge and not only raided the Gurjjara kingdom but also occupied it for some time[315]. Later on, however, the Gurjaras were able to defeat the Maitrakas with the active help of the Western Chālukyas[316] under Dharasraya Jayasiṁha.

Though this theory of Maitraka-Gurjara (or Chālukyan) conflict is refuted on the ground that Jayasiṁha fought with a king named Vajrata and not with the Maitraka ruler Śilāditya III; there can be hardly any doubt that both Vajrata and Śilāditya III were synonymous. This is, of course, based on facts. First of all, the Vajjada of the above mentioned Chālukya record, who was defeated by Dharasraya Jayasimha (son of Pulakeśin II) in the country between the rivers Mahi and Narmadā, is identical to the king Vajrata of the Rāṣṭrakuta records.[317] As Vajrata was defeated in the territory between Narmadā and Mahi, he was probably the Valabhi king Śilāditya III who had occupied the Gurjara dominions; for it is difficult to conceive of any other powerful king ruling in this region, in or shortly, before A.D.

685. Secondly, the Nāsik grant of Gurjara ruler Jayasiṁha, which records his victory over Vajjada, is dated only about nine years later (c.A.D.685) than the grant of Śīlāditya III dated G.E.357, i.e., A.D. 676-77[318]. Finally, the objection that Śīlāditya III was not known by the name of Vajrata, as this name was not mentioned in the Maitraka records, has not much force because right from the middle of the seventh century A.D., Śīlāditya became the conventional name of all the kings of Valabhi and it is likely that besides this common nomenclature each of them had an additional name[319]. The inference that Vajrata was another name for Śīlāditya III, thus seems justifiable.

The Chālukya-Maitraka conflict could also be deduced from the fact that three of his grants[320] were made from the military camps of Khetaka, Pichchhipaji and Dhananda. Anyhow, the fact that Śīlāditya III was finally defeated by the Chālukya-Gurjara combination is attested by the Navasari plates[321] of Jayabhatta III (son and successor of Daḍḍa III), which records the donation of land to a brāhmaṇa, who also like the donee of Śīlāditya III's grant, had emigrated from Girinagara and was residing at the same village Śraddhika.

Another important historical event that took place during the reign of Śīlāditya III was an Arab raid againt Gogha[322], a port on the eastern coast of Kāthiāwāḍ in the vicinity of Hastavapra. The Arab traveller records that Sardār (commander) Ismail landed at Gogha with a mighty army in A.H. 57 (A. D. 677)[323]. The Arab historians give no further details about the expedition. The event, any how, is believed to be the earliest known Arab raid in the region.

In spite of these reverses, it appears that the Maitraka empire was still mighty and Śīlāditya III *alias* Vajrata, its sovereign ruled over extensive territory. The fact that the Rāṣtrakuta records[324] while

describing the achievements of their adversaries, the Chālukyas, equate his prowess to the great Harṣa-Vardhana, speaks of the power and prestige of this Maitraka ruler.

Next in the Maitraka line came Śilāditya IV, who was the son of Śilāditya III[325]. He ruled from c. A.D. 686 to 710. This is deduced from the fact that all his known grants are dated between vs. 368 and 387 (i.e., A.D. 687-706).[326] The last limits of his reign can be extended by a few years because we come across two undated grants,[327] the first of which is assigned to Śilāditya IV while the other could by assigned to him or his successor Śilāditya V. It is noteworthy that the first dated grant of Śilāditya V, was issued in vs. 403, i.e., c. A.D. 722[328]. The eulogists pay Śilāditya IV high compliments for his liberality, prowess and majesty.[329]

Śilāditya IV was followed by his son Śilāditya V, whose known grants are dated in vs. 403, i.e., A.D. 722[330]. Though he issued four grants[331] in all, only two of them are dated. Since the last grant of his predecessor is dated c. A.D. 706 and the only known grant of his successor, Śilāditya VI is dated vs. 441, i.e., A.D. 760[332], it seems that Śilāditya V ruled from c.A.D. 710 to 736. As he made grants of fields and villages in Saurāṣtra,[333] Dhank,[334] Ānandpura[335] (Vādnagar in Mehsānā district of northern Gujarāt) and Lātadesa,[336] it seems that he ruled over a vast territory.

But Śilāditya V was not destined to rule in peace. We are informed by the Sanjan plates that Rāṣtrakuta king Indra I had married the Chalukyan princess Bhavanaga by the *rākśasa* form of marriage at Kaira.[337] Therefore, it seems that this well known part of the Maitraka territory[338] must have sometime after A.D. 733, the year of

Vikramāditya II[339] accession on the Chālukyan throne, changed hands as a result of the latter's victory.

A much bigger disaster was, however, waiting to descend on the Maitraka kingdom at this juncture. The Arabs, according to the Arab historian Biladuri, under the leadership of Junaid invaded western India during the Caliphate of Haśham (A.D. 724-743).[340] Biladuri avers that Junaid send officers to reduce, among others, "Marmad (Marn-mada, including Jaisalmar and part of Jodhapur state), Mandal (Mandor), Dahnaj and Barus (Broach)" and that "he sent force against Uzain (Ujjain).... and Jurz (Gurjara country)".[341] Though the Maitraka epigraphs are silent about the Arab invasion, we learn from an inscriptions of Gurjara king Jayabhata IV of Broach, dated A.D. 736, that in the city of the lord of Valabhi, he inflicted a defeat on the Tajjikas (Arabs) who had caused immense suffering to numerous people.[342] As this Arab invasion took place in A.D. 736, it seems that Valabhi was attacked by the Arabs for the first time during the reign of Śilāditya V.

A more comprehensive account of this Arab invasion is met with in the Navsari grant of Pulakeśin.[343] The Tajjikas (Arabs) are here described as the destroyers of the Saindhava, Kaccha, Surāṣtra, Chavotaka (or Chapotaka), Maurya and the Gurjara power and later they annihilated the Deccan as well.

Thus, these were turbulent times for the Maitraka empire in which they have to contend not only with the other local powers of the area but also with foreign invaders. When these stirring events were taking place in Gujarat, two new dynasties were gaining prominence in central India. These were the Gurjara Pratihāras and the Rāṣtrakutas. The former had, before the invasion of the Arabs,

wrested the province of Mālwā from the Maitrakas who had held it for a long time. This can be inferred on the basis of a verse in *Harivaṁsa* which describes Vatsaraja, the Gurjara Pratihāra king as the monarch of Avanti (Ujjain) in A.D. 784;[344] and on the basis of a Gurjara Pratihāra epigraph it has been concluded that Mālwā was their home province.[345]

The fact that the Gurjara Pratihāras were in possession of Ujjain (or Mālwā) before the advent of the Arabs in India and that the latter were unable to defeat the former, is attested by the statement of Biladuri, who in this connection merely avers that the Arabs "made incursions against Ujjain", where as in connection with other powers he uses the words conquered or defeated.[346] It is note worthy that the comprehensive list of the states destroyed by the Arabs, as enlisted in the Navasari plates of Pulakeśin Jayasraya,[347] the state of Avanti is not included, while it specifically mentions Saurāṣtra in which Valabhi was situated.

Again, the Gurjara Pratihāra – Maitraka conflict could be deduced from the fact that in the Gwalior *Praśasti*[348] of Bhojadeva, one of Nāgabhatta's descendents; he is spoken of as having overwhelmed the Saindhavas who were the feudatories of the Maitrakas[349].

Thus when Śilāditya VI ascended the throne of Valabhi in c. A.D. 736 he was hemmed in by strong adverseries. He tried to put together the scattered remnants of the Maitraka kingdom and as is evident from his only known grant,[350] was able to restore his authority in Saurāṣtra, after the Arab invasion. The military camp at Godraka (modern Godhara) in the Lunāvada plates[351], depict that Śilāditya VI embarked on an expedition against some neighbouring power. Now

the direction of this place which lies in the north east of Valabhi suggests that the Maitraka forces were trying to retrieve Mālwā from the Gurjara Pratihāras. As the villages granted in the Alina plates[352] of the next Maitraka ruler, Śilāditya VII, are all situated in the Kaira district, it seems probable that the Maitrakas under Śilāditya VI met with limited success in the expedition against the Gurjara Pratihāras and recovered the *Khetaka āhara* from the latter.

Before the close of his reign, however, Śilāditya VI had to repel another invasion of the Arabs. Haśham, the governor of Sind in A.H. 140, i.e., c. A.D. 758, sent "Amru-bin-Jamal with a fleet to the coast of Bardā,"[353] which seems to be the present village of Bardia, 16 kms. to the north-west of Porbandar.[354] We know that Porbandar was under the Saindhavas, who were the feudatories of the Maitrakas[355]. Thus it seems that, though indirectly, the Arabs challenged the Maitrakas. Since the only known grant of Śilāditya VI is dated c. A.D. 760 and that of his successor, Śilāditya VII, in A.D. 766[356], we can assume that the former's rule ended someway near A.D. 762,[357] two years after the issuance of the Lunāvada plates.

Śilāditya VII was the last known king of Maitraka dynasty and with him this illustrious line folded up. He ascended the throne of Valabhi in c. A.D. 762.[358] Śilāditya VII *alias* Dhuruvabhata[359] is known to is from only a single grant, dated vs. 447, i.e., A.D. 766[360]. This grant issued by Śilāditya VII is the last known inscription of the Maitraka dynasty.[361] Though the Maitraka power has decline considerably, the fact that Alina grant of Śilāditya VII was issued from the victorious camp at Ānandapura (Vādnagar) suggests that the king was ever intent on conquest[362]. In the celebration of the defeat of which power was this victorious camp organized, is however, not

known. Soddhala, the author of *Udaya Sundari Kathā*, while tracing his descent from Kālāditya, the brother of Śilāditya (VII), avers that the latter defeated king Dharampāla of Bengāl.[363]

Saurāṣtra was again invaded by the Tajjikas (Arabs) in A.H. 159-160 (c. A.D. 776-777)[364] in the reign of Khalifa Al-Mahdi (c. A.D. 775-785). This time the intensity of the attack was more severe, for unlike the previous occasion the township of Bārdā easily fell to them. However after early success, the Arabs had to retreat due to the outbreak of an epidemic which swept away a major portion of their troops.[365]

It was probably not long after this Arab invasion of c. A.D. 776, that the rule of the Maitraka family was terminated.

"The destruction of Valabhi," wrote Bühler in 1872, "is an event around which there hangs more than one mystery and the question when it happened is one of the most difficult to decide".[366] Even after so many years of historical research, the mystery persists and lingers on. No epigraphic or literary record is conclusive on the issue. Recent researches, however, enable us to discard the conjectural chronologies of Tod,[367] Elliot[368] and others[369] regarding the eclipse of the Maitraka power. This much is positively clear that Valabhi was not overthrown either by the Scythians or the Pārthians in the sixty century A.D.; nor was it destroyed by Nauśhirwan the great.

In the light of the repeated attacks by the Tajjikas on Valabhi, it is plausible to conclude that the Maitrakas were defeated by the Arabs. The tradition preserved in the Jaina *Prabandhas* attribute the ultimate downfall of Valabhi and its royal family to an invasion of

Arabs. According to the *Prabandhas*, the Arabs were invited by Raṇka Kāku, an offended citizen of Valabhi.

These Prabandhas, however, give three different dates for the fall of Valabhi. While, the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*[370] and the *Purātana-Prabandha Sangraha*[371] and the *Prabandhakoṣa*[372] give the date as Vikrama year 375; the *Vividhatrithakalpa*[373] treats it to be the Vikrama year 845, while the *Vijayasiṁhasuri Prabandha*[374] gives the date as corresponding to the Vira year 845. Now Vikrama year 375 and the Vira year (or the Vira Nirvāna year 845, i.e., 845 years after the death of Vardhamān Mahāvira) are identical, as Mahāvira died in B.C. 470. Thus we have virtually two dates for the fall of Valabhi, i.e., Vikrama year 375 and Vikrama year 845. Out of these two the latter date seems to be more probable for the downfall of Valabhi because it falls only a few years later than the date of the last known edict of the Maitraka kings. The date thus arrived at is 788 A.D. (i.e., Vikrama Samvat 845 minus 57), which could be treated as that of the final overthrow of the Valabhi power.

An echo of the down fall of Valabhi is also recorded in the Jaina traditions which mention the flight of the principal Jaina images from Valabhi to different places of safety, in anticipation of its downfall[375].

The circumstances which led to the downfall of the Maitraka kingdom, are enunciated by Alberuni. According to him the invasion of Arab forces was invited by Kāku Raṇka, a citizen of Valabhi, who was offended by king Śilāditya by the latter snatching off a rare covetable comb of Kāku's daughter. Incidentally, Kāku hailed from the village Pāli in Mārwār and settled at Valabhi where he attained immense wealth through some *siddhis*. On getting offended, Kāku

subsequently went to the Mleccha maṇḍala, bribed its lord and brought the Mleccha army to invade Valabhi. Under his guidance the Arab troops succeeded in slaying the Maitraka king in war and destroyed the city[376].

As for the identity of the contemporary 'Mleccha Lord' mentioned by the Jaina *Prabhandhas* as well as Alberuni, it may be stated that he is to be identified with Salim Unisi, who officiated as the governor of Sinḍ from A.D. 786 to 790[377].

The royal dynasty of the Maitrakas came to an end with the fall of their capital. The city lost its supreme power for ever and its glorious career turned into matter of past. Unfortunately the past has kept its secret well. However, the dynasty has left some vestiges, especially in the form of the Valabhi era and the ruin of the legendary Valā.

It would not be out of place here to analyse the causes of the decline of such a mighty empire. Of course, the Maitraka fortunes could not have turned overnight and the conditions deteriorated over a period of time. Apart from the immediate cause in the form of the Arab invasion, scholars have suggested the smallness of the kingdom as one of the reasons for their extinction[378]. Again, it has been pointed that the extreme religious feelings prevalent under the Maitrakas contributed to their ultimate demise[379].

But all these factors, like the petty extent of Maitraka empire, and the foreign invasions, along with indigenous intrusions and internal dissensions could be considered as mere stimulants which only advanced the downfall of the already withering Maitraka power. The actual reason for its demise perhaps lies in the natural process of internal decay. It is well known that prosperity and luxury are

inevitably followed by disaster. The case of the Maitrakas was no different. Peace and prosperity brought with them a false sense of security. Perhaps too much enervated and luxury loving Maitraka people lost all their hardihood and motivation and thus when their time of trial arrived in the form of unexpected Arab attacks, they were found wanting.

With the destruction of the Maitraka dynasty, the history of Kāthiāwāḍ again underwent a change. No longer was it destined to contain the seat of government of one unchallenged and undisputed power. From this time onwards Gujarāt and Kāthiāwaḍ witnessed a number of dynasties ruling over its territory. Infact on the fall of the Maitrakas, their viceroys at Vāmansthali and Girinagar became independent and established their own dynasties.[380]

The Garulakas[381] and the Saindhavas[382] were feudatories of the Maitraka kings. The former ruled over western Saurāṣtra upto A.D. 574, while the latter ruled south western Saurāṣtra from A.D. 735-920.

Besides them the Aulikaras,[383] the Chālukyas,[384] the Gurjaras,[385] the Gurjara Pratihāras,[386] the Kālachuris[387], the Maukharis[388], the Rāṣtrkutas,[389] the Sendrakas[390] and the Vākātakas[391] were the contemporaries of the Maitrakas.

The post Maitraka period in Saurāṣtra was known as the Chāvaḍa period. Chāvaḍas[392] who were also known by the name of Chapotkas ruled over a part of Northern Gujarāt known as Sārasvat Maṇḍala consisting of a part of Mehsānā and Banaskantha districts.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. Rapson, E.J., (ed.) *Cambridge History of India* (*CHI*, hereafter), vol. I, pp. 429-30; Mookerji, R.K. *Aśoka*, p. 72.
3. *Petavatthua*, Nālandā, 1959, pp. 57-61 (iv, 3), pp. 67 ff.
4. Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 36-49.
5. *Arthaśāstra*, tr. By Shamāshastry, R., p. 378.
6. Raychaudhari, H.C., *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 236-37.
7. Allan and Dodwell, *Cambridge Short History of India*, p. 63. This western province comprised of the kingdom of Gāndhāra.
8. According to Raychaudhari, (*op. cit.*,p. 399), the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, which set in 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by Yavanas referred to in the *Gargi Saṁhita* (*Journal of Bihar and Orrissa Research Society*, XIV, 1928, p. 402) and the Mahābhāṣya of Patānjali (III, 2, 111)
9. Allan and Dodwell, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

9A. Saurāṣtra was probably included in Subhagasena's territories, Ray chaudhari, H.C., *op.cit.*, p. 301.

10. Tarn, W.W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 74.

10A. Strabo, *Geography*, II, Lib. IX; *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 444.

11. Stabo, *Geography*, II, Lib. XI, Jones Edition, Vol. V, p. 279-80; *CHI*, I, p. 444.

11A. Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

12. Tarn, *op.cit.*, p. 150; Raychaudhari, *op.cit.*, p. 317; The proof of Appolodotus rule in Gujarāt is provided by the discovery of

his coins from the province, Cunningham, A, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. X, 1870, New Series, pp. 78 and 85.

13. Tarn, *op.cit.*, p. 230;
14. *ibid.* p. 152.
15. Cunningham, A, *op.cit.*, Vol. X, 1870, pp. 220-22.
16. Tarn, *op.cit.*, p. 318
17. Rapson E.J., *Indian Coins*, 1897, p. 21
18. Allan, *op.cit.*, p. 65. The presence of Indo-Greeks and their rule in Gujarāt is further testified by the reference to *Malecchas* by Dhaneśvara Suri in the *Śatrunjaya Mahātmya* (tr. By Popatlāl Prabhudas, pp. 502-503, 506, 511)
19. Tarn, *op.cit.*, p. 320
20. Sankalia, H.D., *AOG*, p. 10
21. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, pp. 32-33
22. Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Cave at Nāsik', *EI*, VII, p. 61 ff.
23. Raychaudhari, *op.cit.*, p. 415. However according to the recent researches in Gujarāt, Nāhapāna is believed to have reigned from about 32 to 78 A.D. *JOI*, XXIX, pp 59 ff, also Rashesh Jamindar, *Itihās Saṁśhedhan*, Ahmedābād, 1976, pp. 37 and 50.
24. Banerji, 'The Andhau Inscriptions of the time of Rudradaman,' *EI*, XVI, p. 19.

24A. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. II, pp. 104 ff; *JOI*, XXVII, No. 2, pp. 34 ff.

25. Kāṇe P.V. 'The Ancient History and Geography of Konkaṇ,' *PTOC*, I[st] session, vol. II, Poonā, 1919, pp. 391-92; Kielhorn, 'Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman, the year 72', *EI*, VIII, p. 36 ff; Rapson, *Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty*, p. cxix.

26. Kielhorn, *op.cit.*, VIII, p. 36 ff.

27. Rapson, 'The Coinage of the Mahākśhtrapas and Kśhatrapas of Surāṣtra and Mālvā', *JRAS*, 1899, pp. 357-407.

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29. Bhagwānlāl Indrāji ; 'Nāsik Inscription of King Iśvarasena', *JRAS*, 1890, p. 657 and Bhaṇdārkar, D.R., *ASI*, *AR*, 1913-14, pp. 230-231.

30. Banerjee R.D., *Age of Imperial Guptas*, p. 20; Dāṇdekar, *A History of the Guptas*, p. 25; Saletore, R.N., *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 11

31. Fleet, 'Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II, the year 82', *CII*, III, Plate II B, pp. 21-24; Banerjee, *op. cit.*,p. 20; Dāṇdekar, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

32. Fleet, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 21-24.

33. *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, vol. XVIII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 83 ff.

34. Allan, *op.cit.*, p. xxxviii,

35. Watson, 'Legends of the Earlier Chudāsama Rās of Junāgaḍh' *IA*, II, pp. 312 ff.

36. *Bhārtiya Vidyā*, vol. XVIII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 83 ff; Rājyagor, S.B., *History of Gujarāt*, Chapter V, p. 78.

37. On the basis of numismatical evidences, some genealogical link between these couple of Kśhatrapa kings named Śarva and Śaśa Bhattārka and the Maitrakas has been deduced. Mehtā R.N. and Surya Vanshi, B., 'Silver coins of Śarva and Śaśa Bhattārka from Bilodara', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XXXI, Varanasi, 1969.

38. Fleet, 'Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, the year 136, 137 and 138', *CII*, III, pp. 56-65; *JASB*, VII, p. 34 ff ; *JBBRAS*, vol. 1, p. 148 ff.
39. *idem.*
40. *ibid*,lines 8 and 9; Parnadatta was also called Farnadata in the Persian Chronicles, Jarl Charpentier, 'Farna Data, Neberg', *JRAS*, 1931, p. 40.
41. *ibid*, line 9.
42. *ibid*, lines 11 and 27
43. *idem.*
44. Fleet, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 62-63.
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46. Majumdar, R.C., 'The Revised Chronology of the Last Gupta Emperors, *IA*, vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 163, 166; Raychaudhary, H.C., *Political History of Ancient India*, Chapter XII, p. 513.
47. Fleet, J.F., 'Bhitri Stone Pillar Inscription of SkandaGupta', *CII*, III, No. 13, pp. 52-56. For Skandagupta's conflict with Pusyamitras, see pp. 53-54.
48. हूणेर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कम्पिता, *ibid*, line 15.
49. Watson, J.W., *op.cit.*, 1873, p. 312
50. *idem.*
51. For details of the dynasty refer to, 'Kaira Plates', *IA*, vol. XIII, p. 81 ff; also *EI*, II, p. 21 ff; *EI*, V, p. 41 ff.
52. For details see, Hultzsch, 'Pālitānā Plates of Simhāditya, dated 255 (A.D. 574)', *EI*, XI, pp. 16. ff.

53. For details refer to, Altekar, A.S., ' Six Saindhava Copper plate Grants from Ghumali', *EI*, XXVI, pp. 186-190; also 'Ambalas Plates of Saindhava king Ahivarman dated 404, (A.D. 723),' *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Barodā, (hereafter *JOI*), XIX, pp. 279 ff.

54. For details, please see Mirashi, V.V., 'Abhona Plates of Śankaragaṇa', *CII*, IV, pt. II, pp. 37 ff; *EI*, IX, p. 296; also *EI*, II, p. 22 ff (Grant of Śantilla).

55. For dynastic details please see, Kielhorn, 'Sarsavani Plates of Buddharaja', *EI*, VI, p. 294 ff; also 'Surat Plates of the Traikutaka Mahāraja Vyāghrasena, dt. 490 A.D.', *EI.*, XI, pp. 219 ff; Burgess and Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, 'Cave Temples of Western India', *Archaeological Survey of Western India* (ASWI hereafter). Miscellaneous report, No. 10., p. 57 ff (Kanheri Inscription); *EI*, XII, p. 30 (Vadner Plates)

56. Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, pp. 266-268; Watters , T., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, pp. 246-248.

57. The dynasty starting with Bhatārka had a total of twenty two royal dignatories, out of which twenty became rulers. For details please see Appendix A.

58. Watson, J.W., *op.cit.*, 1873, p. 312

59. *idem.*

60. Kielhorn, F, 'A copper Plate Grant of Śilāditya I of Valabhi', *IA*, XIV, 1885 p. 329; Fleet, 'Maliya copper plate inscription of Mahārāja Dharasena II, vs. 252', *CII*, III, 1888, pp. 165.

61. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 167-168. It may be mentioned here that Bhatārka obtained his kingdom through the help of army

consisting of *maula* or hereditary troopers; *bhṛta* or mercenary troopers, *mitra* or the troops of an ally; and *śreni* or the guild troops.

62. Jackson, 'The New Valabhi Copper Plate,' *JBBRAS*, XX, p. 1 ff; Barnett, 'Bhamodar Mohota Plate', *EI*, I, pp. 17-19.

63. Purugupta (c. A.D. 467-472 A.D.) is known to us from a number of genealogical seals of his successors – *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 66, 1942, pp. 64 ff, also Hoernle in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengāl* (hereafter *JASB)*, 1889, pp. 84-105 (For Bhitari seal inscription which mentions Purugupta).

64. Kumāragupta II is known to us from the Sārnāth Inscription, dated G.E., 154, i.e., c. A.D. 473-74, *Archaeological Survey of India Annual report*, 1914-15, No. XV, p. 124. The above mentioned date is generally regarded as the starting of Kumāragupta II's reign. His rule probably ended in 475 A.D. as we have definite evidence of Budhagupta's reign in A.D. 476-77. cf. Sārnāth Inscription of Budhagupta, G.E. 157, i.e., A.D. 476-77, *CII*, III, No. XVI, pp. 125-26.

65. Jagan Nāth, 'Early History of the Maitrakas of Valabhi,' *Indian Culture*, V, pp. 413-14.

66. 'Anastu Plates', *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, p. 114.

67. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, 1896, p. 96.

68. Please refer to Appendix A, Grant No. 105 for further details; also Virji, K.J., *Ancient History of Saurāshtra*, p. 260.

69. *History of Gujarāt*, p. 83.

70. Bhāvnagar district, Chapter II, 1969, p. 49

71. *AHS*, p. 26. She mentions his reign to be from c. A.D. 493 to 499.
72. Fleet, 'Sārnāth Inscription of Budhagupta, dated G.E. 157, i.e., A.D. 476-77', *CII*, III, No. XVI, pp. 125-26.
73. *EI*, XV, Pl. No. 3 and 4, pp. 134-141.
74. *CII*, III, No. 19, p. 88 ff.
75. Fleet, 'Eran Boar Stone Inscription', *CII*, III, pp. 158 ff.
76. The use of the regnal year of the Hūṇa kings in dating the Eraṇ Boar Stone inscription instead of the use of the Gupta era suggests that Dhanyaviṣṇu was a subordinate of Toramaṇa whose reign probably commenced in A.D. 490. cf., Mirashi, V.V., 'The Early History of the Hunas in India,' *JOI*, vol. XXIX,, pp. 11 ff; also *Indological Research Papers*, pp. 88-97.
77. *CII*, III, No. 20, pp. 91-93.
78. Banerji, R.D., *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 60.
79. Jayaswal, K.P., *An Imperial History of India*, Appendix, p. 54.
80. Jayaswal, K.P., 'History of India (Nāga-Vākātaka Imperial Period)', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XIX, p. 103.
81. Bühler, G., 'Ajanta Inscription', *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IV, p. 124 ff; Hariṣeṇa ruled from about A.D. 490-520.
82. cf. Shāh, C.J., *Jainism in Northern India*, p. 68.
83. *AHS*, p. 27.
84. This is because while Virji maintains that Chandralekhā's father was the Vāktaka king Hariṣeṇa, (*AHS*, p. 27), other sources state that Chandralekhā was the daughter of

Chandrakirti, *Gujarāt State Gazetteer*, Bhāvnagar district, 1969, p. 49.

85. Diskalkar, D.B., 'The Valabhi Grants', *JBBRAS*, (NS), I, 1925, p. 17 ff; Bühler, G, 'Valabhi Grant of Dharasena II', *IA*, VII, 1878, p. 71 f; Fleet, *CII*, III, pp. 167-68.

86. Jackson, 'Bhamodra Mohota Plates,' *JBBRAS*, XX, p. 1 ff; Barnett, 'A New Valabhi Grant', *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p. 17 ff.

87. The Bhamodra Mohota Copper plate Grant, which is the earliest and the only known Grant of Droṇasiṁha was issued in this year.

88. The earliest known inscription of Droṇasiṁha's successor Dhruvasena I is dated. Vs. 206, i.e., c. A.D. 525. For details please refer to Appendix A, Grant No. 2.

89. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff; Barnett, *op.cit.*, p. 17ff.

90. *IA*, vol. X, p. 105; *CII*, III, No. 38, p. 168

91. *CII*, *op. cit.*, p. 164 ff *Akhila-bhuvana maṇdalaika-Swāmina-paramaswāmina-upahita- rājyābhiṣekaḥ.*

92. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 1 ff. In all probability this overlord was the Gupta ruler Bhānugupta (as can be surmised from his Eraṇ inscription).

93. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IV, 1928, p. 283; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XV, 1939, pp. 281-287.

94. Diskalkar, D.B., 'Valā Museum Plates of Dhruvasena I, dt. c.A.D. 545 or 547', *JBBRAS*, (NS), I, 1925, pp. 16-19.

95. These are the dates for the first and the last inscriptions of Dhruvasena I. (For details please refer to Appendix A, Inscription Nos. 2 to 20). The last date for his rule can be extended by a few years as we have come across two undated

Grants of the same ruler. (Please refer to Appendix A, Inscriptions No's., 21 and 22).

96. Twenty one in all. For details refer to Appendix A, Grant No's, 2-22.

97. Bhaṇḍārkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India, Appendix to *EI*, vols. XIX-XXIII, Nos. 1293-1295, 1297, 1299, 1300-1303, 1591, 1592 etc.

98. Jackson, 'A Valabhi copper plate Grant of vs. 210', *IA*, XXXIX, p. 130 ff; Sten Konow, 'A copper plate Grant of Dhruvasena I', *EI*, XI, p. 113 ff.

99. Bühler, G, 'A Grant of Dhruvasena I, dated 216', *IA*, IV, p. 104 ff.

100. *Early History of India*, p. 314.

101. *AHS*, pp. 27-29

102. *JASB*, vol. LVIII, p. 97; Majumdār, M.R. is also of the same view, *Chronology of Gujarāt*, p. 1.

103. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 90.

104. *Annals of Bhaṇḍārkar Oriental Institute*, vol. LVIII, p. 133

105. *Gujarātno Rājkaiya ane Sānskritic Itihās*, vol. III– *Maitraka Kālin Gujarāt*, pp. 40-41.

106. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. III. *The Classical Age*, pp. 60-63.

107. *idem.*

108. *Indological Research Papers*, Vol. I, p. 93.

109. *History of Imperial Guptas*, pp. 357-58

110. *Gupta Sāmrājya*, p. 329.

111. *Harṣha*, p. 47.

112. The silver coinage of the western Indian type was introduced by Chandragupta II – Altekar, A.S., *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 150 ff; and it was continued by his son Kumāragupta I (*ibid*, pp. 216 ff) and grandson Skandagupta (*ibid*, pp. 251 ff) with a few typological changes.

113. Altekar, *op.cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

114. Bühler, G, *op.cit.*, p. 124 ff.

115. *CII*, III, pp. 72 ff; also Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscription : Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965, pp. 299 ff.

116. *idem;* Bandhuvarman was the Aulikara ruler at this time. Mirashi, V.V., believes that he was not the subordinate ally but a well known contemporary of Kumāragupta. (*Indological Research Papers*, vol. I, p. 95). But his supposition is not based on any sound fact.

117. Sircar, D.C., *op.cit.*, pp. 410 ff.

118. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* (hereafter *JESI*), vol. X, pp. 96-103.

119. Sircar, D.C., *op.cit.*, pp. 410 ff.

120. LXXXV. 2.

121. For a full discussion on this problem see Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Dravyavardhana of Avanti, Royal Patron of Varāhamihira', *Prachi-Prabha, Perspective in Indology* (Essays in honour of Prof B.N. Mukkarjee), Ed. B.C. Bhattacharya and D. Handa, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 163-175.

122. Fleet, 'The Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśhodarmana', (undated), *CII*, III, No. 33, pp. 142-150; also *IA*, vol. XV, 1886, p. 253 ff. This inscription mentions the

defeat of Mihirkula at the hands of Yaśodharman (verse 7) and the extension of Yośodharman's empire from Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean (verse 5).

123. Fleet, 'The Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśhodharmana, dated V. E. 584, i.e., A.D.532', *CII*, III, p. 159 ff.

124. Mehtā, R.N. and Thakkar, A.M., *Copper Plates of the Time of Toramaṇa*, M.S. University Archaeology Series, No. 14, Baroda, 1978.

125. cf. Goyal, S.R., *Gupta-Kālina Abhilekha*,pp. 368-69.

126. Mirashi, V.V., *Indological Research Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 104 ff.

127. Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Overlord of the Early Maitrakas', *JESI*, vol. XVI, 1990, pp. 8-13. Similar views have been propounded earlier by Jackson in *JBBRAS*, (NS), I, p. 16 ff and Fleet in IA, XV, 1886, p. 187. Both of them declared Yaśodharman to be the overlord of the Maitrakas. However, as against the logical views of Ajay Mitra Shastri, their suppositions was not based on any sound evidence.

128. Hultzsch, 'The Gaṇeśhgaḍh Inscription of Dhruvasena I', *EI*, III, p. 318 (lines 8-10); also Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 165 (lines 6-8).

129. This is one of the two copper plate Grants of the family, which are found along with the Valabhi inscriptions. For the inscription of Varahadāsa II please refer to Gadre, A.S., 'The Five Vala Copper-plate Grants', *Journal of the University of Bombay* (hereafter *JUB*), III, p. 79 ff. (line 15)

130. Refer to Appendix A, Grant Nos. 2, 3 and 5.

131. *ibid*, Grant Nos. 15-16.

132. *ibid*, Grant Nos. 19.

133. *ibid*, Grant Nos. 12.

134. *ibid*, Grant Nos. 3 and 11

135. Gadre, A.S., *op.cit.*, p. 79 ff; Hultzsch, E., 'Pālitānā Plates of Simhaditya', *EI*, XI, p. 17 ff.

136. *EI*, III, p. 318 (The Gaṇeśhgaḍh Inscription) refers to Dhruvasena I as *Avaboddha-śāstrārtha-tattvanam* or he who knows the essence of the Sastras.

137. *idem.*, the same epigraph refers to him as *Kalpataruṙ-ivasuhrit-praṇayinam yathabhilāśita-kama-phal-opabhoga-dah* or the one who showed great liberality to friends and the learned and the existing religious institutions of his time.

138. *EI*, III, 1894-95, p. 320, line 10 (Gaṇeśhgaḍh inscription); *EI*, XI, 1911-12, p. 107, line 12 (Pālitānā plates); *CII*, III, p. 165, line 8 etc.

139. Buhler, G, 'A Valabhi copper plate Grant of Dhruvasena I', *IA*, IV, p. 104 ff.

140. Vinaya vijaya, *Kalpa-sutra Subodhika*, pp. 15-16.

141. This formula is found in most of the Maitraka epigraphs. eg. *EI*, III, p. 107.

142. Hultzsch, E., 'Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvasena I', *EI*, XI, p. 105 ff.

143. *ibid*, p. 107, line 10 refers to the expression *sva-bhuja-balena (parākrameṇa)*

144. Ghai, G.S., and Srinivasan, P.R., 'A Charter of Dhruvasena I, year 207', *EI*, XXXVII, p. 169, lines 11-12.

145. *IA*, IV, 1875, p. 174 (Valā Plates) ; *IA*, V, 1876, p. 207 (Bhāvnagar Plates); *IA*, VII, 1878, p. 67 (Sorath Plates). In all these Grants Dharapatta is not mentioned at all.

146. Buhler, 'A Valabhi Grant of Guhasena, dated 240', *IA*, VII, p. 66 ff.

147. *IA*, V, 1876, pp. 206 ff (Bhāvnagar Plates)

148. This date is known from an epigraph of Dhruvasena I's contemporary feudatory king Varahadāsa of the Garulaka dynasty. cf. Gadre, A.S., 'The five Valā Copper-Plate Grants', *JUB*, III, p. 79. The last known date of Dhruvasena I's own Grants is vs. 226 or 228, i.e., c. A.D. 545 or 547 (see Appendix A, Grant No. 20)

149. Bühler, *op.cit.*, VII, p. 66 ff.

150. *CII*, III, p. 165.

151. *eg.* Bühler, 'Copper plate Grants of Guhasena', *IA*, VII, p. 66 ff; Barnett, 'Walā Plate of Guhasena of the year 246', *EI*, XIII, p. 338 ff. etc.

152. *eg.* Sten Konow, 'The copper plate Grant of Valabhi king Śilāditya I', *EI*, XI, p. 115 f; Banerjee, 'The Bhadrenika Grant of Śilāditya I, G.E. 292', *EI*, XXI, p. 116 ff. etc.

153. For details please refer to Appendix A, Grant Nos. 23 to 25, 107 and 119.

154. The earliest known Grant of his successor, Dharasena II is dated in vs. 252, i.e., A.D. 571, cf. Fleet, 'The Jhār Plates', *IA*, XV, 1886, p. 187.

155. *Bhāvnagar Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 30. This inscription was discovered at the village Bankodi in the Rāval district and has been assigned on palaeographical arounds to Guhasena.

156. Buhler, 'Walā Fragmentary Inscription', *IA*, XIV, p. 75.

157. Fleet, ' The Jaunpur Stone Inscription', *CII*, III, No. 51, p. 228 ff. This inscriptions mentions Iśvaravarman as the king of Saurāṣtra or Kāthiāwāḍ and mentions his fight with the Maitrakas.

158. Bühler, *op.cit.*, VII, p. 66 ff.

159. In the later inscriptions of the Maukharis, unlike his successors who bore imperial titles such as *Mahārājadhirāja*, Iśvarvarmana is given the simple titles of *Ksitipati* and *Mahārāja*. -Fleet, 'Asirgadh Copper-Seal Inscription of Sarvavarman', *CII*, III. p. 220 ff. This proves that he was defeated by the Maitrakas.

160. Majumdār, 'A Harāha Stone Inscription', *IA*, XLVI, p. 125 ff, Śāstri, 'The Harāha Inscription', *EI*, XIV, p. 110 ff.

161. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 165 lines 1-15, *Sakala-smṛti-praṇita-mārga-samyak-paripalana-praja-hṛdaya-ranjanad-anvartha-rāja-śabdo.*

162. *idem.*

163. *idem.*

164. *idem, Saisavat-prabhutā-khadga-dvitiya-bahur-eva.*

165. *Rāsmālā*, p. 255, f.n. 3.

166. Tod, J. also believes that the Guhilots of Mewār were the descendents of the Maitrakas. cf. *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, I, pp. 176-181, also *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. I, p. 90.

167. This is known from his land Grants with are dated from vs. 252 to 270, i.e., A.D. 571 to 590. For details please refer to Appendix A, Grant Nos, 26-42.

168. Fleet, 'The Jhar Plates', *IA*, XV, p. 187 f; and *Bhāvnagar Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 30 ff (India office, London Plates of Dharasena II).
169. *IA*, VI, 1877, pp. 9-12 (Valā Plates)
170. *JBBRAS*, (NS) I, 1925, pp. 66-69 (PWMB plates)
171. Diskalkar, D.B., 'Bantia Plates of Dharasena II, Sam. 254', *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, p. 179.
172. *AHS*, p. 43-44.
173. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 221.
174. For details please refer to *EI*, XIV, p. 119, verse 11
175. Hultzsch, 'Pālitānā Plates of Simhaditya, dated 255', *EI*, XI, p. 16 ff. This Grant was issued by Simhaditya of the Garulaka family and was found at Pālitānā along with Maitraka Grants.
176. Nandini Sinhā, 'Early Maitrakas, LandGrant Charters and Regional State Formation in Early Medieval Gujarat', *Studies in History*, New Series, vol. XVII, No. 2, 2001, p. 156 ff.
177. For details of these camps please refer to Appendix A, Grant Nos. 33, 36, 38 and 39.
178. *IA*, VII, 1878, p. 68 (Sorath Plates)
179. Fleet, 'Bombay Asiatic Society Plates of Dharasena II, dated vs. 252', *IA*, VIII, 1879, pp. 301 ff, line 19.
180. *idem.*
181. *idem.*
182. Beal, S., *op.cit.*, pp. 260-61; Watters, T., *op.cit.*, pp. 242-43
183. Jayaswal, K.P., *Imperial History of India*, Text and translation of *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-Mūlakalpa*, Appendix, p. 24.

184. Sircar, D.C., 'A Charter of Viṣṇusena', *Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems of Ancient and Medieval India*, Chapter XIII, pp. 176-183.

185. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 226. In the south Indian records, *panch-maha-sabda* seems to refer to the privilege to enjoy the sounds of the five kind of musical instruments (*CII*, III, p. 276 note)

186. *Bhaṇdārkar's List Nos.* 1304-1305.

187. Burgess, J., *Antiquities of Kāthiāwāḍ and Kuchh*, Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. II, pp. 82 (on the basis of a Maitraka Grant, dated vs. 310); also Beal, S., *op.cit.*, p. 267.

188. Sircar, D.C., *op.cit.*, p. 176 ff.

189. For his earliest known Grant refer to Bhaṇdārkar, 'A Valabhi Grant', *IA*, I, p. 46 ff; Sten Konow. 'The copper plate Grant of the Valabhi king Śilāditya I', *EI*, XI, p. 115 ff.

190. His last known Grant is dated A.D. 611. Banerjee, 'The Bhadrenika Grant of Śilāditya I, G.E. 292', *EI*, XXI, p. 116 ff. But he issued two more undated Grants (Appendix A, Grant Nos. 54-55) and as the earliest known Grant of his successor Kharagraha is dated A.D. 616 (Appendix A, Grant No. 56) it can be assumed that Śilāditya I's reign extended utp c. A.D. 614-15.

191. Beal, S, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 260 ff.

192. *idem.*

193. Refer to Appendix A, Grant No. 50 (The Dhank Plates)

194. *ibid*, Grant No. 53 (The Bhadreniyaka Plates)

195. *ibid.* Grant Nos. 44, 46, 47, 49 and 52

196. Rehatsek, E., 'Papers on Śatrunjaya and the Jains', *IA*, II, p. 195.

197. Jayaswāl, K.P., *op. cit.*, p. 24.

198. *JUB*, III, 1934-35, pt 1, pp. 85-87; *IEAR*, 1959-60, Appendix A, p. 39, No. 38.

199. *idem.*, The Grant was made to Brāhmaṇas Mitraśarman and Gameśvara, sons of Rudraśarman. These donees originally belonged to a village of Daśapura (Mandsor) but were living at Valabhi at the time when they received the Grant.

200. Gadre, A.S., 'The Virdi Copper-plates of Samvat 297', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference* (hereafter *PTOC*, 7th), 1933, p. 659 ff.

201. Beal, S., *op. cit.*, II, p. 260; Watters, T, *op. cit.*, II, p. 242.

202. There is a difference of openion among various scholars regarding the exact location of this *Mo-la-po* or Mālwā. V.A. Smith treats it as Western Mālwā and differentiate it from the kingdom of Ujjain or Avanti which he regards as Eastern Mālwā (*EHI*, 4th Edn., pp. 343-44), Tripathi , R.S. on the other hand mentions Mālwā as denoting Eastern Mālwā only, while he related Ujjain to Aparā Mālwā. (*History of Kanauj*, p. 46 and f. n. 2). Gānguly, D.C., in *JBORS* (Vol. XIX, pp. 399-400), however, refers to Aihole inscriptions, a Valabhi record of 639 A.D., The Nilgund inscription and the Barodā plates of Karkarāja, dated 812 A.D., to show that the term Mālwā was used in wider sense and it included Aparā-Mālwā as well.

203. Beal, S., *op. cit.*,II, p. 260; Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 242.

204. Jayaswāl, K.P., *op. cit.*, p. 43.

205. Refer Appendix A, Grant No. 65.

206. Fleet, 'Apśād Inscription of Ādityasena', *CII*, III, p. 200 ff. This inscription describes the later Gupta king Dāmodargupta, the son of Kumāragupta, as the one who broke up "the proudly stepping array of the mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis".

207. This conflict is alluded to by the Abona Plates of the Kālachuri ruler Śankaragaṇa Pathak, 'Abona Plates of Śankaragaṇa. K. Sam. 347,' *EI*, IX, p. 299 ff.

208. The disaffection between Devagupta and Mahāsenagupta is evident from the omission of the former from the official genealogy of the Later Guptas after they established their power at Magadha. cf. Fleet, 'Apśād Inscriptions of Ādiyasena,' and 'Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II', *CII*, III, p. 200 ff.

209. Ganguli, 'Malwa in the 6th and the 7th Centuries', *JBORS*, XIX, p. 399 ff.

210. This is evident from the Sonepat Copper seal inscription of Harṣa (*CII*, III, p. 232 ff. also introduction p. 15). The inscription mentions Prabhākaravardhana as the son of Āditya vrdhana and Devi-Mahāsenagupta, the latter being the sister of Mahāsenagupta. Bāṇabhatta also alludes to the same fact. (*Harṣacharita*, tr. By Cowell and Thomas, p. 199).

211. Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

212. This is proved by the fact that Śankaragaṇa was in control of Ujjain at this juncture, cf. Pathak, *op. cit.*, p. 299 ff.

213. Bāṇabhatta describes Prabhākaravardhana as the overlord of Mālwā (Avanti) and Lāta. (*Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 101)

214. Dhruve, 'Three land Grants from Sankheda', *EI*, II, p. 26 ff. This record describes Nirihullaka as a feudatory of Śankaragaṇa, the latter being the lord of Ujjain.

215. *EI*, IX, p. 299 ff.

216. Fleet, 'The Mahākuta Pillar Inscription of the Chālukya king Mangalesa', *IA*, XIX, p. 19 ff. From this inscription it is clear that Buddharaja succeeded Śankaragaṇa in or about A.D. 602 and the former was defeated by Mangaleśa.

217. Kielhorn, 'Aihole Inscriptions of Pulakeśin II', *EI*, VI, p. 8 ff; Fleet, 'Sanskrit and old Kanarese Inscriptions', *IA*, VII, p. 162 f.

218. This is deduced from the Vadner plates of Buddharaja *EI*, XII, No. 7, p. 33 ff.

219. Kielhorn, 'Sarasvani plates of Buddharaja', *EI*, VI, p. 297 ff.

220. Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, VI. p. 9-10.

221. *Maitraka Kālin Gujarāt*, p. 53 f.

222. Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, 'The Nausari Grant of Jayabhatta of the Gurjara family c. Sam. 456', *IA*, XIII, 1884, p. 79 ff.

223. The Alina plates alludes to the analogy between Indra (elder brother) and Upendra (younger brother) as mentioned in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V, 30) in connection with the leadership dispute between Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I and concludes on the basis of the Purāṇic account that the latter triumphed ultimately (*CII*, III, p. 182, note 1)

224. Gadre, A.S., *Important Inscriptions from the Barodā State* (hereafter *IIBS*), pp. 7-16.

225. Derabhatta is described as the *royal sage Agastya spreading to the south* and as the lord of the earth with *Vindhya* and *Sahya* for her brest. (Gadre, *op. cit.*, p. 11; *CII*, III, p. 176, lines 32-37)
226. Gadre, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
227. Refer to Appendix A, Grant Nos. 43-48.
228. *ibid*, Grant Nos. 49-54.
229. *EI*, I, p. 85 ff; *IA*, VII, p. 76 ff.
230. Diskalkar, D.B., 'The Bhāvnagar copper plates dated 304', *EI*, XXI, p. 181 ff.
231. Bhaṇdārkar, 'A Valabhi Grant', *IA*, I, p. 17.
232. Sanskrit text and translation of *AMMK*, verse Nos. 601 and 602, cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
233. *idem.*
234. Refer to Appendix A, Grant No. 58. Though the Gopnāth Grant is also related to him, the inscription is undated (Appendix A, Grant No. 59)
235. *ibid.*, Grant No. 60 (Botad Plates)
236. Diskalkar, *op, cit.*, XXI, p. 181 ff.
237. Fleet, 'The Alina Copper Plate Inscription of Śilāditya VII', *CII*, III, p. 182.
238. *idem.*
239. Kielhorn, 'Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II, Śaka Samvat 556', *EI*, VI, pp. 8 ff. In this inscription Pulakeśin II is described as the subduer of the Lātas, Mālvas and Gurjaras.
240. Appendix A, Grant No. 58.
241. *ibid.* Grant No. 60.
242. *ibid.*, Grant No. 67. (Malila Grant , dt. v.s. 323, i.e., A.D. 642). This is the last known Grant of Dhruvasena II.

243. From the Gurjara inscriptions it is known that Daḍḍa II reigned from A.D. 629-641, cf. Mirashi, V.V., 'A note on the Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Jayabhatta III', *EI*, XXIV, p. 178 ff.

244. Fleet has rightly suggested that Yuan Chwang visited Valabhi in Dhruvasena II's reign, cf. *CII*, III, p. 40 (Introduction); Burgess has also identified *Tu-lu-po-po-ta* with Dhruvasena II, cf. *ASWI*, II, p. 82.

245. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 247; Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p., 267.

246. *idem.*

247. Hultzsch, 'The Nogawā Plates', *EI*, VIII, p. 192 ff; Ācharya, G.V., *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, No. 69.

248. Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, *op. cit.*, XIII, 1884, pp. 79 ff (see reference No. 222); also *JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 1 ff.

249. That this Harṣadeva is no one else but king Harṣavardhana himself is proved by the Apṣhād Stone inscription of a later Gupta king Ādityasena. Cf., Fleet, 'Apṣhād Stone Inscription of Adityasena', *CII*, III. No. 42, verse 14, p. 207, f.n. 3. The present form also occurs in *Harṣacharita* (Kaśhmir edition), p. 119, line 5.

250. Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, *op. cit.*, 1884, pp. 79 ff; also Sircar, D.C. *PTOC*, XII, p. 525 ff.

251. In. *JBORS*, vol. IX, p. 319 f.

252. It is known from *Haṣacharita* that the Lātas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras were hostile to Prabhākaravardhana and that the enmity with Mālvā continued in the next reign (tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 101). It may be assumed, therefore, that these three principalities continued to be hostile towards Harṣa (successor of Prabhākaravardhana) as well.

253. Kielhorn, *EI*, VI, p. 2 and 10, f.n. 5.

254. 'The Goras Plates of Dhruvasena II', *JBBRAS*, (NS), I, 1925, p. 53 ff.

255. For the gap please refer to Appendix A, Grant Nos. 62 and 63.

256. cf. *IA*, XIII, p. 82 ff.

257. Nihārranjan Ray, *IHQ*, Vol. IV, p. 464.

258. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, III, pp. 596-97.

259. Yuan Chwang states that at the sixth quinquennial assembly convoked by Harsa in 643 A.D. at Prayāga, king Dhruvasena II of Valabhi held a position of distiniction along with king Bhaskarvarman of Assam, all eighteen other kings ranking next to them, cf. Beal (Trans.), *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, 1888, pp. 185-186.

260. cf. *EI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 179.

261. Beal, *op.cit.*, 1888, pp. 185-86

262. Bhaṇdārkar, 'A Valabhi Grant', *IA*, I, 1872, pp. 14 ff.

263. Hultzsch, *EI*, VIII, p. 1905-6, pp. 188 ff.

264. *ibid*, pp. 196 ff; *ASIAR*, 1902-3, Pt II, pp. 325 ff.

265. Bhaṇdārkar, *op. cit.*, 1872, pp. 14 ff; Bühler, 'Additional Valabhi Grant', *IA*, VII, p. 73 ff; Bühler, 'Valabhi Inscriptions', *IA*, XV, p. 339 ff.

266. Refer to Appendix A, Grant Nos. 68-74. The last date of his reign is extended by an year because we come across two undated fragmentary inscriptions of this king (*ibid*, Grant Nos. 73-74) and also because the first Grant of his successor Dhruvasena III is dated A.D. 651 (*ibid*, No. 75)

267. *chakravartin sri Ajjaka pādānudhyata śri Dharasena*, cf. Bühler, *op. ct.*, VII, p. 73 ff; Baṇdārkar, *op. cit.*, I, 1872, p. 14 ff.

268. The *AMMK* suggests that he was proclaimed emperor on Harṣa's death. Verse 846, cf. Jayaswāl, K.P., *op. cit.*, p. 67.

269. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 13, 46.

270. Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 359.

271. Two of his Grants, both dated A.D. 649 were issued from a victorious camp at Bhroach. For details refer to Appendix A, Grant Nos. 10 and 71.

272. *AMMK*, Verse 44-45; cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

273. *idem.*

274. *ibid.*, p. 68.

275. *CII*, III, No. 39, p. 176, line 30

276. *idem.*

277. *idem.*

278. *ibid*, line 31.

279. This can be deduced from his Alina Grant dated vs. 330, i.e. A.D. 649 which mentions *rajaduhitā* (princess) Bhupa as the *dutaka*. (For details refer to Appendix A, Grant No. 70). Usually in the Maitraka Grants the heir-apparent was entrusted with the office of *dutaka*.

280. This is also proved by the fact that in some of his land Grants Dharasena IV entrusted the office of *dutaka* to *rajaputra* Dhruvasena III. (Appendix A, Grant Nos. 68 and 69)

281. Please see *supra*, reference No. 229

282. Appendix A, Grant Nos. 75-77.

283. *ibid*, Grant No. 78 (Alina Plates)

284. *ibid.*, Grant No. 76 (Kapadavanj Plates)

285. *idem.*

286. Fleet, 'Five copper plate Grants of the Western Chālukya Dynasty', from the Karnul District', *JBBRAS*, XVI, *p. 226.*

287. Bühler, 'Grant of the Valabhi kings', *IA*, VII, 1878, pp. 76 ff; (Appendix A, Grant No. 78)

288. Appendix A, Grant No. 79.

289. *idem*, Pulindaka is situated approximately 3 kms. north-west of Barodā.

290. Fleet, *CII*, III, No. 39, p. 177, lines 39-47; p. 85

291. *idem.*

292. *idem.*

293. *IA*, V, p. 20 ff.

294. *IIBS*, p. 17 ff.

295. Bühler in *IA*, V, p. 208 (Genealogical list of the Maitrakas); *ASWI*, III, p. 206.

296. *idem.*

297. *CII*, III, No. 39. p. 185, note 2.

298. Appendix A, Grant Nos. 79-89.

299. *ibid.*, Grant No. 79.

300. *ibid.*, Grant No. 87. Though a later Grant dated vs. 365, i.e., c. A.D. 684 is some times attributed to Śilāditya II, (Gadre), *IIBS*, p. 17 ff) in all probability it belonged to Śilāditya III.

301. *CII*, III, No. 38, p. 185.

302. Appendix A, Grant No. 81.

303. *ibid.*, Grant Nos. 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89.

304. *CII*, III, No. 39, pp. 171 ff.

305. *idem.*

306. See Appendix A. Grant No. 80.

307. *ibid*, Grant No. 82.

308. *ibid*, Grant Nos. 82, 86.

309. *ibid*, Grant No. 84.

310. *ibid*, Grant No. 88.

311. *ibid*, Grant No. 88.

312. *idem.*; also Gadre, A.S., *IIBS*, Vol. I, pp. 18 ff.

313. Mirāshi, 'The Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Dadda III, K.E., 427', *CII*, IV, No. 121, p. 617 ff; Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, 'A New Gurjara Copper Plate Grant', *IA*, XIII, pp. 79 ff.

314. Mirāshi, *op. cit.*, p. 619. Daḍḍa III, claims victories over the rulers of the east and the west. The ruler of the west was in all probability the Maitraka ruler Śilāditya III.

315. cf. 'Anastu plates', Refer to Appendix A, Grant No. 88.

316. Khare, 'The Nāsik Plates of Jayasiṁha', *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, I, p. 8 ff.

317. 'Anjanavati plates of Govida III', *EI*, XXIII, p. 14 ff. The epigraph mentions this victory as the most glorious achievement of their enemies – the early Chālukyas; also Mirāshi, V.V., 'A note on Vajrata', *IHQ*, XX, 1944, p. 357 ff.

318. Gadre, A.S., *IIBS*, p. 18 ff.

319. Mirāshi, V.V., *CII*, IV, Introduction, p. lxii.

320. See Appendix A, Grant Nos. 84, 86 and 88.

321. Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, 'A New Gurjara Copper-plate Grant', *IA*, XIII, p. 70 ff. The Anjaneri plates of Jayabhata III were also issued from Broach, cf. *EI*, XXV, p. 293

322. Muhamad Safiullaha, *Mirāt-e-Mustafābād*, II, p. 495; Muhammad Umar (Kokil), 'The Arab Invasion', *Forbes Traimāsik*, III, pp. 25-26.
323. *idem.*
324. *EI*, XXIII, p. 14 ff. (Anjanavati plates of Govinda III)
325. Infact all the five kings, Śilāditya II-VII were related as father and son respectively, cf. Fleet, *CII*, III, No. 39, p. 171 ff.
326. See Appendix A, Grant Nos. 90-98.
327. *ibid.*, Grant Nos. 98 and 99.
328. *ibid.*, Grant No. 100.
329. *CII*, III, No. 39, p. 186.
330. See Appendix A, Grant Nos. 100 and 101.
331. *ibid.*, Grant Nos. 99-102
332. *ibid.*, Grant No. 103.
333. *ibid.*, Grant No. 100-102
334. *ibid.*, Grant No. 100
335. *ibid.*, Grant No. 102.
336. *idem.*
337. Bhaṇdārkar, 'Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa I, ss. 793,' *EI*, XVIII, p. 252 ff.
338. Infact one of Śilāditya V's Grant, dated A.D. 722 was issued from a military camp at Ketaka (Kaira) – See Appendix A, Grant No. 100.
339. Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 374.
340. *EI*, XVIII, p. 93; Elliot and Dawson, *History of India*, I, 1867, p. 126

341. Elliot and Dawson, *op.cit.*, p. 17 ff and 126 ; Muhammad Umar (Kokil), 'The Gujarāt Muslim relations before the eleventh century', *Forbes Traimāsik*, III, p. 25 ff.

342. Ācharya, G.V., 'A Grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhatta, Kālachuri year 486', *EI*, XXIII, p. 147 ff; The existence of the Gurjara ruler in Valabhi is also attested by the Kāvi plates, cf. Bühler, G, 'The Kāvi Plates of Jayabhata IV', *IA*, V, p. 115 ff.

343. Acharya, G.V., 'Pulikeśi Jayasraya's Navasari Plates', *HIG*, NO. 106; *Vienna Oriental Conference Report* (Aryan Section), p. 230.

344. cf. Pāthak, 'A passage in the *Harivaṁsa* relating to the Gurjaras', *IA*, XV, p. 141; Majumdar, 'The Gurjara-Pratihāras', *Journal of the Department of Letters*, X, pp. 22 ff.

345. Majumdār, 'The Gwālior Praśasti of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhoja', *EI*, XVIII, p. 102; Elliot and Dawson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 126.

346. Bhaṇdārkar, *EI*, XVIII, p. 101; Sten Konow, 'Hansot Plates of Chahamāna Bhārtrivaddha', *EI*, XII, p. 200.

347. Ācharya, G.V., *op. cit.*, No. 106.

348. Majumdār, *op. cit.*, XVIII, p. 102 ff.

349. Altekar, A.S., 'Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli', *EI*, XXVI, p. 186 ff; *ASIAR*, 1903-1904, p. 281. From the same epigraph it is known that Puśhyadeva (c. A.D. 734-743) was the founder of the Saindhava dynasty which ruled in North Saurāṣhtra with Bhūtambilika or modern Ghumli as their capital. The span of their rule is dated c. A.D. 740 to 920 (*ibid*, p. 186-189)

350. Buhler, G., 'Lunāvada Plates of Śilāditya VI', *IA*, VI, p. 16 ff; also See Appendix A, Grant No. 103.

351. *idem.*

352. Fleet, 'The Alina copper plate Inscription of Śilāditya VII, dated vs. 447 (c. A.D. 766)', *CII*, III, No. 39, p. 189.

353. Muhammad Umar (Kokil), *op. cit.*, p. 25 ff; Eliot and Dawson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 444.

354. Altekar, A.S., *op. cit.*, XXVI, p. 190. There is, however, controversy over the exact location of Bārdā and Alberuni treats Bārdā as a corrupt form of Balabhi or Valabhi, cf. *Alberuni's India*, tr. by Sachu, E., I, p. 192. But Alberuni's view seems to be erroneous.

355. *idem.*

356. See Appendix A. Grant No. 104; also *CII*, III, No. 39, pp. 171 ff.

357. This is only an assumption and the research has followed K.J. Virji in this regards (*AHS*, p. 97)

358. *ibid.*, p. 101.

359. Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 172; Bühler, 'Alina Plates of Śilāditya', *IA*, VII, p. 80.

360. See Appendix A, Grant No. 104.

361. The Maitraka epigraphs are dated vs. 183 to 447, i.e., A.D. 502 to 766 – cf. *CII*, III, p. 39-40.

362. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 170.

363. *Gāekwād Oriental Series*, 1920, p. 3 ff. The account however is eulogistic in nature and cannot be trusted.

364. Elliot and Dawson, *op.cit.*, II, p. 245 ff; Muhammad Umar (Kokil), *op.cit.*, p. 25.

365. Elliot and Dawson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 444.

366. *IA*, I, p. 130.

367. Tod, J. suggests that Valabhi was attacked by Scythians (or Pārthians) in A.D. 524, cf. *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, I, p. 177-178.

368. Elliot accepting the date given by Tod for the destruction of Valabhi but suggests that the destroyers were definitely Scythians for Sind (*History of India*, I, . 408)

369. Various scholars have given other views. Elphinstone suggests that the destroyer was the Sassanian Nauśhirvan the great. (*History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 212). Forbes, holds that the destroyer was a Chālukyan king (*Rāsmālā*, I, p. 22) while Cunningham believes that he was the Rāṣtrakuta king Govinda (*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 318). Watson on the other hand believes that Valabhi was annihilated by Iranians in A.D. 642 (*Kāthiāwār Gazetteer*, p. 671).

370. Merutunga, *Prabandha chintāmaṇi*, Singhi Jain Series, p. 109.

371. Jinavijaya, *Purātana Prabandha Sangraha*, Singhi Jain Series, p. 84, 192.

372. Rajasekharasuri, *Prabandhakoṣa*, ch. VII, Sloka 66, Singhi Jain Series, p. 74.

373. Jinaprabhavasuri, *Vividhatirthakalpa*, Singhi Jain Series, p. 29.

374. cf. Śhāstri, H.G., 'The Date of the fall of Valabhi', *IHQ*, XXIII, p. 249.

375. Merutunga, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Jinaprabhavasuri, *op.cit.*, p. 29; Jinavijaya, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

376. *Alberuni's India*, tr. by Sachau, p. 192-193.

377. Shastri, H.G., *Maitraka Kālin Gujarāt*, pp. 155 ff.

378. Vaidya, C.V., *History of Medieval Hindu India*, p. 249

379. Wilberforce Bell, *History of Kāthiāwāḍ*, p. 42.

380. Altekar, A.S., 'The Solanki Dynasty at Junāgaḍh', *Ancient Cities and Towns in Gujarāt Kāthiāwāḍ*, p. 41; Watson, 'Legends of the Early Chudāsama of Junāgaḍh', *IA*, II, 1873, p. 312

381. See *supra*, p. 108, 119, 124 (reference Nos. 52, 129, 135, 175 etc).

382. See *supra*, p. 108, 145 (reference Nos. 53 and 349).

383. See *supra*, p. 116-118 (reference Nos. 118-127).

384. See *supra*, p. 130, 138 (reference Nos. 217 and 286).

385. See *supra*, p. 108, 130, 141, 142 (reference Nos. 51, 222, 313, 321 etc).

386. See *supra*, p. 145 (reference Nos. 345).

387. See *supra*, p. 108, 129, 130 (reference Nos. 54, 207, 216, 218, 219).

388. See *supra*, p. 122-123 (reference Nos. 157-160).

389. See *supra*, p. 141-143 (reference Nos. 317, 324, 337).

390. Sendrakas were probably the feudatories of Rāṣtrakutas. cf. Gokak Plates, *EI*, XXI, pp. 289 ff; also Mirashi, V.V., 'The Sendrakas of Gujarāt', *CII*, IV, p. lvii.

391. See *supra*, p. 112 (reference No. 81).

392. *Vienna Oriental Conference Report*, p. 230; *IA*, XVII, p. 192.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO CULTURAL LIFE DURING THE TIMES OF THE MAITRAKAS

Man is believed to be a product of heredity and environment. While the effects of heredity on a man's character need no explanation, it must be said that environment also influences his internal and external aspirations. The story of a man's progress, which is an arduous one, is in fact based on his proper understanding of his surroundings. He has fretted and fumed, huffed and puffed and has suffered a lot before reaching this present stage of refinement. Whatever transpired in the way has transformed him from a beast to a human being who is on the verge of becoming superman. But what has stood out in this long process is his audacity, willingness to learn and his continuous urge for perfection. Right through, the yearning to be more than a mere animal has churned up his conscience.

Still from his early primitive past he has remained dissatisfied. A part of the problem is due to the fact that individually, he has never been able to become a self sufficient entity. Apart from his physical weakness in overcoming or conquering the nature and his surroundings, this sense of individual void and unfulfilment has forced him to a community life. Once he became a food producer from a food gatherer, his desire to make a family and live in a group strengthened. This led to the formation of society.

A society sans intellectual awakening, material progress and spiritual aspirations can be nothing more than irrational. Culture, which is regarded as the patterns of life or the way of behaving of a man, is that aspect of a society which imparts it a rational outlook. It

is that stage of human development when people look for more than just the satisfaction of material needs.

The culture of a people may be roughly described as the expression of consciousness of life which formulates itself in three aspects, viz., (1) thought, upward will and soul's aspiration; (2) creative self expression, intelligence and imagination and; (3) practical and outward formulation. A culture to be permanently and completely serviceable to man must give him something more than some kind of rare transcendental uprush towards an exceeding of all earthly life values. It must do more even than adorn with a great curiosity of knowledge, science and philosophic enquiry or a rich light and blaze of art, poetry and architecture, the long stability and orderly well being of an old and ripe society.

A true happiness in this world is the right terrestrial aim of man and true happiness lies in finding and maintenance of a natural harmony of spirit, mind and body. A culture is to be valued to the extent to which it has discovered the right key of this harmony and organised its expressive motives and movements.[1]

The primary impulse of life is individualistic. In the family the individual seeks for the satisfaction of his vital instinct of possession, as well as for the joy of companionship, and for the fulfilment of his other vital instinct of self reproduction. In society he finds a less intimate but a larger expansion of himself and his instincts. A society is only a larger vital competitive and co-operative ego that takes up both the individual and the family into a more complex organism and uses them for the collective satisfaction of its vital needs, claims, interests, aggrandisement, well being and enjoyment.[2]

Judged on this yardstick the socio-cultural life of the Maitrakas qualified the test of a progressive life power. In fact the pragmatic society and the dynamic culture of the Maitraka's was nothing short of spectacular. Some of their socio-cultural customs and rites proved to be benchmarks for all future generations and societies. The history of the Maitrakas will be incomplete if some mention is not made of the life of the people in the social and cultural spheres. To understand this, it is essential to give a brief sketch of the institutions that formed the basis of social life during Maitraka times.

Not much epigraphical evidence is at our disposal to know about the state of society and the caste system during the Maitraka times. Whatever information we have got is gleaned from literary records basically of contemporary nature. Hsuan tsasng's testimony, the ancient Hindu and other literature come in handy here, for reconstruction of the functioning of the Maitraka society. Of course, some general inferences can be drawn from these records like the fact that in almost all the epochs of ancient Indian history the ideal of *varṇāśramadharma* was strong and was the guiding force behind the Indian society. The institution of *ćaturvarṇa* or the four fold division of the society was also in vogue.

The ideal of *Ćaturavarṇa* was based on certain principles of social ethics and it aimed at reaching perfection in the social sphere. Though with the passage of time this kind of division of society into classes, based on birth and sanctioned by religion, became unalterable thereby ensuing the exploitation of one class by the other. Still it was often the character of the inter-relations among the principal social orders which has mainly conditioned the social dynamics in any particular period of ancient Indian history.

But the ancient *ćaturvarṇa* must not be judged by its later disintegrated degeneration and gross meaningless parody, the 'caste system'. Neither was it precisely the system of the classes which we find in other civilizations, viz., priesthood, nobility, merchant class and labourers. It may have had outwardly the same starting point, but it was given a very different revealing significance. The ancient Indian idea was that man falls by his nature into four types. There are, first and highest, the man of learning and, thought and knowledge; next, the man of power and action, ruler, warrior, leader, administrator; third in the scale, the economic man, producer and wealth-getter, the merchant, artisan, cultivator; these were the twice born, *dvijas*, who received the initiation, *brāhmin, kśhatriya, vaiśhya.* Last came the more undeveloped human type, not yet fit for these steps of the scale, unintellectual, without force, incapable of creation or intelligent production, the man only fit for unskilled labour and menial service, the *śūdra.* The economic order of society was caste in the form and gradation of these four types.

Still, the real greatness o f the Indian system of the four *varnas* did not lie in its well ordered division of economic function; its true originality and permanent value was in the ethical and spiritual content which the thinker and builders of the society poured into these forms. This inner content started with the idea that the intellectual, ethical and spiritual growth of the individual is the central need of the race. Society itself is only the necessary framework for this growth; it is a system of relations which provides it with its needed medium, field and conditions and with a nexus of helpful influences.

Just like in the other dynasties of ancient India, caste system, ever strong and rigid, formed the basis of society during the Maitraka

period of well. Society was divided into four main castes, viz., *brāhmaṇa*, *kśhatriya*, *vaiśya* and *sudra*.[3] The caste system as it prevailed in the Maitraka period is thus described by Husan tsang: "There are four orders of hereditary clan distinctions. The first is that of the brāhmins or 'purely living'; these keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity. The second order is that of the kśatriyas, the race of kings; this order has held sovereignty for many generations, and its aims are benevolence and mercy. The third order is that of the vaisyas or class of traders, who barter commodities, and pursue gain far and near. The fourth class is that of the sudras or agriculturists; these toil at cultivating the soil and are industrious at sowing and reaping. These four castes form classes of various degrees of ceremonial purity."[4]

It was the duty of the ruler to uphold the social order and prevent confusion and unlawful mixture of castes, so that the duties assigned to each caste may be carried out by the members of that caste without being interfered with by the members of other castes. Many inscriptions of the Guptas, who were the predecessors of Maitrakas, also speak of various kings as being : *Varṇāśramadharma-Sthāpana - niratena*, i.e., the upholder of the Varṇa system and; *varṇānam-bhutaye-pat*, meaning thereby, the protector of castes. Accordingly the Maitraka records speak of their monarchs as having "properly regulated the practices of the different castes and stages of life."[5]

The strong brahmanical reaction against the rise of rival faiths like Buddhism and Jainism manifested itself in a tendency towards crystalization of the *Varṇāśramadharma* with the corollary of the ascendancy of the brāhmaṇas in the society. He *Smṛtis* in principle stressed the fact that it was the duty of the king to support the

śrotiriyas, i.e., learned Brāhmaṇas[6], and in the Dharmaśāstras great importance was attached to gifts of permanent character made to the brāhmaṇs which were termed *atidānas* or gifts of great value.[7] Naturally the Maitraka kings also paid due respect to the brahmanas. Their inscriptions were replete with references to land grants, *agrahāras* and *brāhmadeyas* to brahmanas to support and help them in their life of learning and religion and in their ritualistic rites, both the Vedic and the Puranic.

The fact that the brahmanas enjoyed exalted position and prestige in the Maitraka society is further substantiated by the issuance of majority of Maitraka land charters in favour of the brahmanas. The earliest epigraphic evidence of the existence of a flourishing brahmana community in the Deccan and Gujarāt - Kathiawar was provided by the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, Kśaharātas and the Kaśatrapas, who made munificent donations to brahamanas right from second century B.C. to second century A.D.[8] But regular grants to the brahmanas really begun with the advent of the Guptas and Traikutakas. Under the Maitrakas we have a plethora of land grant charters issued to 'the learned class'. The Maitraka kings paid due respect to the brahmanas, as they rewarded them with grants of land and even assignments on the state revenue. For instance, it is recorded about Dharasena II, that for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of his parents, and that he himself might reap the reward of good action, he made a grant to the brahmana Rudrabhuti, consisting of fields in various villages, irrigation wells and certain taxes including the right to forced labour.[9] In return for these privileges and exemptions, which they enjoyed, the brahmanas were expected to discharge certain duties to the state. In the law

books these duties are stated as studying and teaching of the Vedas as well as profane learning and also performance of religious rites.[10] These rites were invariably the five *mahāyajñas*[11], viz., the *bhūtayajña*, the *manuṣyayajña*, the *pitṛyajna*, the *daivayajña* and the *brahmayajña*.[12] The main items of expense incurred in performing these *mahāyajñas* and which have been enumerated in the Maitraka inscriptions are *bali, chāru, vaiśvadeva*[13], *agnihotra and atithi. bali* evidently represented *śrāddha* (i.e., where rice balls are offered to the Manes) offered in *Bhūtayajña*[14]; *atithi* was associated with the *manuṣyayajña* which existed in honouring quests; *chāru* was presumably the oblation of rice offered in the *pitṛyajña*, which according to the texts may partake of *tarpaṇa*, *śrādha* or *bali* to the manes; *vaiśvadeva* was connected with the *daivayajña* at which *homa* was offered to all the gods (viśvedevah); while the study of the vedas which the brahmanas were required to persue, in itself amounted to a sacrifice which was termed *Brahmayajña*. (i.e. Svādhyāya or one's self study)[15]. The *agnihotra* was a daily observance to be performed with the offerings of cow's milk to Agni and Prajāpati. Though not included in the five *mahāyajñas*, the morning *homa* was an indispensable preliminary, which had to be performed before the commencement of any of the five rites. But this *quid pro quo* arrangement between the state and the brahmanas was not applicable to all and sundry. Not all brahmanas were entitled to this state bounty. Manu and other make it clear that a brahmana who is like a cat or a hypocrite or one who does not know the Vedas, is unworthy of receiving a grant[16].

The institution of *caturvarṇa* or the fourfold order of the society, often miscalled the system of the four castes,[17] we are told

was the result of an economic evolution[18] complicated by political causes. Possibly it may be true;[19] but the important point is that it was not so regarded and could not be so regarded by the men of that age. The Brahmanas were *ad libitum* to take the occupations of the lower castes in the difficult times (आपातकाल धर्म). in addition to their own peculiar profession, *viz.*, of priestly duties and learnings in which they were still paramount[20]. Though primarily concerned with the religious duties, the brahmana was never pretended to be a mere bragging *prima-donna* and always remained helpful in their endeavour. There were, besides, other learned avocations which they could follow. Some of them were physicians[21], others astrologers[22], while the most learned were appointed to ministerial and other administrative officies[23].

Regarding the profession of the brahmanas, law-givers prescribed teaching, study, sacrifice, officiating in sacrifices and making and receiving gifts.[24] Epigraphic evidence also reveals that most of the recipients of land grants pursued learning and specialised in a particular branch of study. For example, the Sorath plates of Dharasena II of Valabhi recorded land grants to two Brahmanas who were students of *Chhandogya kautubha Śākhā*[25].

The duties of the brahmanas prescribed by the law givers were expected to be followed, but there were departures from the rigid *Smṛti* injunctions and though the number of those who followed the *Smṛit* laws was substantial, there is ample evidence of the brahmanas following professions reserved for the other lower classes. Manu wants a brahmana to avoid agriculture as a means of subsistence.[26] But to its contrary, Yuan Chwang mentions his meeting with a

brahmana who was ploughing land with his own hands and thereby pursuing the occupation of a vaiśya.[27] This laxity of caste professions is also evident from the work of Daṇḍin. It is learnt that in the Vindhya forest region many nominal brahamanas abandoned their profession of learning disregarding truth, purity and other virtues and lived by the occupation of *kirātas*[27A].

It is, therefore, not unnatural to assume that the rigidity of caste avocations was some how relaxed and in the later periods Brahmanas became skilled in varied professions, engaged in trade[28] and were employed in different fields. This of course, does not rule out the fact that the Brahmanas remained the most respected class in the society.

One of the most outstanding features of the Brahmanas is that they formed a single caste with sub-divisions. The distinction was based on the *Śākhās* or branches of Vedas they studied. The Maitraka inscriptions, refer to Brahmanas belonging to different *Śākhās*. These Brahmanas according to the *Gotras* and the branch which they followed, studied some particular Saṁhita of a Veda. Some of them studied the *Bahvṛch Saṁhita of Ṛgveda*, some followed the *Maitrayāṇika Saṁhita* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, some were inclined towards *Madhandina Vājasaneyi Saṁhita* of the *Śukla Yajurveda*, some were the students of *Kauthum Chhandogya Saṁhita of the Sāmveda* and the *Atharvana Saṁhita* of the *Atharvaveda*[29], while others belonged to the *Maitrayāṇaka Mānavaka* school[30] and the *Taittiriya* school.*

Though the epigraphical evidence indicates the preponderance of Yajurvedi and Sāmavedi brahmanas over that of Ṛgvedis and

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* A comprehensive list of various *Śākhās* have been enlisted Exhibit 4.1.

Atharvavedis during the Maitraka times, still the number of Ṛgvedi and Atharvavedi donees does not appear negligible in the Valabhi records. It is worth mentioning here that *Śukla Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda* seem to have been most popular in Kāthiāwāḍ, while in the north east around Ānandapura, it was the *Ṛgveda* and the *Sāmaveda* that were most studied. This did not mean, however, that the other Vedas were neglected. For the term "*tachchaturvidyā-samanya*"[31] which often occurs in the Maitraka grants indicates that almost all the important towns were centres where all the four Vedas were taught.

Brahmanas belonged to several *Gotras*[3], as they were believed to have descended from one or the other sage (*Ṛsi*) after whom a *Gotra* was designated. The following *Gotras* are the most commonly met with in the Maitraka records :- *Audarsani* Gotra, *Atreya*, *Aupāsvati*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Bhārgava*, *Dandavya*, *Darbhasa*, *Daronayāna*, *Gargya*, *Jabāla*, *Kairadi*, *Kapiśthala*, *Kaśyapa*, *Kauśika*, *Kauśaravasa*, *Kṛsṇātreya*, *Mānavasa*, *Pārāśara*, *Śāṇdilya*, *Sarkkārakśi*, *Śuṇaka*, *Tāpasa*, *Traivalambayana*, *Vatsa*, *Vrajagaṇa*, *Upamanyu*, *Vājasneyi-kanavya* etc. Occasionally along with the *Gotras* the inscriptions refer to the *Pravaras* to which the brahmanas belonged. One important point must be made at this juncture. In the Maitraka records one notices that a large number of grants are made to brahamans who were residents of or were from Ānandapura or Anārtapura, while a good number of them belong to Daśapura and Khetaka.

The nomenclature of brahamans from the Valabhi plates, point to a large variety of names, some even completely kśatriya like and

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3 A detailed study of various *Gotras* along with the *Vinirgata* and *Vāstavya* places, is Exhibit 4.2.

followed by an equally rich variety of suffixes. For example, the Nāgara brahmanas[32] used as many as thirteen suffixes, on the basis of which D.R. Bhandarkar[33] has tried to prove that the Nāgara brahmanas, who were originally from eastern India had some sort of relation with those of Gujarat, who still exist. In Gujarāt, Ānandapura or Anārtapura, identified by Bhandarkar with the modern Vādnagar, was the centre of the Nāgara brahmanas during the Maitraka times. The Alina Copper plate grant of Kharagraha II dated v.s., 337,[34] refers to one brahmana named Nārāyaṇa, a native of Ānandapura, who was presumably a Nāgara brahmana[34A]. But this theory has been refuted.[35] Where as this richness of suffixes is indeed remarkable, they do not show in our present stage of knowledge that the bearer of these suffixes were Nāgara brahmanas, as Bhandarkar has postulated, and the endings are not indicative of families of brahmanas as they resemble to the Kāyastha names of Bengal[36]. During the Maitraka period, the brahmanas were highly respected and were patronized by kings and civilians alike. In society they were looked upto for their life of learning, piety and culture.

The ksatriyas held the second place in the social divisions who constituted the ruling class and the reins of the country were in their hands. Yuan Chwang noticed that the second order of society was that of the kśatriya, the race of kings who held sovereignty for many generations and their aims were mercy and benevolence.[37] They received military educations, and as the word implies protection, it was conceived to be their primary job to defend the country from external aggression and internal bickerings. "The duty of the Kśatriya," avers the *Arthaśāstra*, "is study, performance of sacrifice, giving gifts, military occupation and protection of life"[38] Manu is of

the same opinion when he says that the kśatriya should protect the people, bestow gifts, offer sacrifices, study the Veda and abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures.[39] Then again, according to Yuan Chwang the sovereign *de jure* should always be of the ksatriya class and it was from them alone that lawful kings be produced, though in the same breaths he records that there were some exceptions to this rule and men of other castes also assumed the crown.[40] The kśatriyas facilitated the administration with the necessary personnel and provided soldiers for the army. However, their chief merit was their prowess. Just as the superiority of the brahmanas, observers Manu, is from knowledge, so that of the kśatriyas is from valour[41].

Thus, the Śāstric injunctions to carry arms for striking and for repelling prescribed for the ksatriyas continued even in the Maitraka period. A kśatriya, who was entrusted with the task of protection of the people and defence of the land had to acquire proficiency in the use of various weapons and other accomplishments relating to fighting and in various branches of political science to sustain the martial spirit of the kśatriya class.[42] The army was recruited from the bravest of the people and as their profession was hereditary, the soldiers became adepts in military tactics[43]. Apart from protecting the kingdom the king also regulated the conduct of various castes in accordance with the *Varṇāśrama-Dharma*.[44] Alongside this, the kśatriyas were allowed to study the Vedas, although not for teaching the sacred texts. They occupied positions of feudal lords, governor of big provinces, writer of a grant and even a *dutaka*.[45] Many charitable deeds were performed under their patronage and a king or a feudatory chief was also expected to win the hearts of his subjects by carefully following the path prescribed in the *Smṛtis*[46] and by assuring safety to

those seeking refuge under him, disregarding his self interest.[47] The kśatriyas enjoyed a very significant status in the society when they performed their duties properly.[48] It is worth mentioning here that at this juncture the kśatriyas had not yet subdivided themselves, and formed a single caste. Further the kśatriyas had not yet come to assign much importance to the three great *Vaṁsas*[49], to which they invariably traced their descent later. Thus none of the grants of the Maitraka kings, who were undoubtedly of the kśatriya caste[50], mention the vamsa or the race to which they belonged. So, as noticed from above it, can be surmised that during this period the kśatriya character showed a synergy of both obdurate valour and the subtle sinew, and *prima facie* whatever they did was for *pro bono publico*.

The third estate comprised of the merchant class, who came under the designation of the vaiśyas. According to *Arthśāstra*, the duty of a vaiśya "is study, performance of sacrifice, giving gifts, agriculture, cattle breeding and trade."[51] Manu seems to air identical view, except that he adds the profession of money lending to the already mentioned duties.[52] All the Dharmaśāstras agree that the attributes of an ideal vaiśya class is tantamount to honest trade.[53] The merchant class, according to Yuan Chwang, engaged in commercial enterprise and reaped profit at home and abroad.[54] Naturally, great wealth accumulated in their hands which they often lavished on charitable pursuits. Writing about the Gupta times,. Fā-Hien records, "the heads of the vaisyas built vihāras for the priests, and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens and orchards, along with the resident populations and their cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal".[55] At the Maitraka capital Valabhi itself, we come across notable instances of their munificence. There is mention of

two rich merchants Kākkā and Ajjita, who were responsible for the construction of two *vihāras*, named after them.[56] Along side the religious donations, this class also indulged in a lot of other charitable activities o the secular type. One prominent feature as regards the occupational aspect of the castes during the Maitraka times is that while the occupation of the first two castes remained much the same, as in the ancient times, the occupation of the vaisyas underwent a change. While in the preceding period they were pre-eminently herdsmen and cattle breeders, agriculturists as well as traders, now their sphere of work got restricted to trade only. In this period *krishi* and *gorakśhya* or agriculture and cattle rearing, ceased to be the occupation of the vaisyas and had now become the occupation of the Śūdras. Thus, the vaisyas of the days of Yuan Chwang, from his description were traders and merchants, bankers and money lenders.[57]

The sudras constituted the fourth class. It consisted of the labourers and agriculturists.[58] They performed the duty of serving the upper three estates and thus earned their livelihood. Various Smṛti writers are quite specific about the role of sudras in the society. "One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the sudras", says Manu, "to serve meekly even these (other) three castes".[59] The chief occupation of the sudras, according to Yuan Chwang, was agriculture. A śūdra was supposed to serve his master, marry within his own caste, recitation of the Vedic *mantras*, *Svadha*, *Svaha*, *Vasat*, etc. were denied to him[59A].

Yuan Chwang also mentions a section of society, who were forced to live outside the towns, they were butchers, fisherman, public performers, executioners and scavengers.[60] These people who were

untouchables were obviously the *Chāṇḍālas*, the lower order of the sudra caste and the scum of the Hindu society.

As regards the inter-relation of these four castes, it must be said that there was no restriction on the intermingling and inter-dining of the first three classes during the Maitraka period. In fact, during this period, the Smṛti writers have even permitted the three higher castes to take food of the sudras in times of emergency.[61] Among these four castes the brahmanas and the kśatriyas were held in high esteem due to power and prestige, they enjoyed. Usually they enjoyed cordial relations. But occasionally the pelf and power produced their natural result as kings and their nobles sometimes treated the needy brahmanas with disrespect. In general, one married in ones own caste, though inter-caste marriage were not unheard of. Yuan Chwang observed that there were several classes of people who married outside their caste.[62] Such marriages were in vogue especially in the royalty[63], and among the frequent instances of this kind mention could be made of the marriage of Gṛahavarman and Rājyaśri who were respectively kśatriya and Vaiśya by caste.[64] Another example is the marriage of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena II with Harṣha's daughter.[65] It seems that the principle followed regarding inter caste marriages was that a man could take a wife of a lower caste[66], but not of a higher caste than himself. The former was called *anuloma* and was legitimate, while the latter, known as *pratiloma* was illicit and was not sanctified in the Dharmaśāstras.[67]

The relations of the two lower castes were also cordial. The vaiśyas and the śūdras remained in constant touch and intermingled with each other easily. Because agriculture ceased to be the occupation of the vaisyas and had now become the chief occupation

of the sudras, the economic condition of the śūdras improved and their overall image in the existing social set up received a face lift. This fact *inter alia* forced people like Albaruni to comment that both the vaisyas and sudras were at par in the society and their conditions were almost equivalent during this period.[68]

Thus the intelligence and the virtuosity of the brahmanas, the audacity, valour, chivalry encouragement and protection of the kśtriyas, the initiative, liberality and the tenacity of the vaisyas and the obedient discharge of the duties, submissiveness and the sincerity of the sudras resulted in the overall prosperity of the Maitrakas.

Social Institutions

The study of the institution of marriage is important for the understanding of the culture of a place. This is so because this institution affects the social organisation of a given area. According to Manu, a marriage has three aims, viz., religious, progeny or production of offsprings and satisfaction of sexual desires[69] Out of these three aims the first one was considered to be indispensable and the most important one. Thus marriage was considered to be a divine institution and something sacred which cannot be discarded. Marriage in case of boys generally took place when they had completed their education and were about to enter *gṛahasthāśrama*. According to Vātsāyana a person should tie the nuptial knot only after the completion of his studies and commencing the life of a citizen.[70] The girls generally entered the marital stage after the attainment of puberty.[71] The *Kāmasūtra* avers that the age of bride should be at least three years less than that of the bridegroom.[72] Normally the parents settled the match[73] and the day of the wedding was fixed in consultation with the astrologers.[74] Out of the eight forms[75] of

marriages, the first four were considered holy and even the *Gandharva* type was treated with contempt during this period. The religious rites performed during a marriage prove that it was considered to be an eternal chord and not a contract. It was one of the many *Saṁskāras* (sacraments), which were and still are indispensable to the Hindu life. Only in case of any exigency was a separation allowed. Normally a woman was not allowed to remarry but occasionally when a husband was suffering from any disability remarriage was permitted. As Nārada puts it that only when a husband has died or become an ascetic or an eunuch or has been absconding for long, can his wife be allowed such a privilage.[76]

Further, the Dharmaśāstras prescribed and ordained that widows should not be permitted to remarry, a prohibition borne out by the observation of Yuan Chwang who writes, "a woman never contracts a second marriage."[77] But curiously enough men were polygamous and were allowed to take more than one wife at the same time[78], thus depicting bias towards one section of the society. Worse still, the evil practice of Sati or the immolation of the widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands, has already been firmly established. But it heartening to observe that in the Maitraka period social reformers were beginning to raise their voice against this inhuman practice. Bāṇa, for instance, condemns and disparages it in no uncertain terms, when he writes, "to die after one's beloved is the most fruitless. It is the custom followed by the foolish. It does not do any good whatever to the dead person.... On the other hand, by surviving the deceased, one can do much good to both one self and to the departed by offering prescribed oblations for his happiness in the other world".[79]

Some girls were dedicated to the temples for dancing. This system has close resemblance to the *devadāsi* system[80]. The Bhandreniyaka inscription of king Śilāditya I records the grant of land to the Sun-god, providing for maintenance of regular worship (*pūjā*), bath (*snāpana*), perfume (*gandha*), garlands (*puṣpamālya*) and lamp oil (*dipa-taila*) as well as vocal and instrumental music (*vādya gita*) and dance (*nṛtya*).[81] This is also corroborated by the later observation of Alberuni that in idol-temples, women sing, dance and play.[82] The *Rājtarangiṇi* records that these dancing girls could be enjoyed by the kings like the harlots.[83] The courtesans (*gaṇikā*), though public women, enjoyed a more dignified life than the ordinary harlots. *Gaṇikās* had to acquire accomplishments of exceptional character and they were highly honoured by respectable men of society. Owing to their special accomplishments they often became wealthy. Thus the institution of courtesans furnished a profession for women to earn their livelihood. Though a social evil, no social reformer of the times tried to eradicate it and this continued as an accepted feature.

These dark spots apart, women enjoyed a certain degree of freedom during this period. Though the epigraphic records of the Maitrakas are almost silent about the position of women, the law books of Yajñavalkya, Bṛahspati etc., the contemporary literature and the testimony of the Chinese travellers Yuan Chwang and I-tsang can be explored as helpful sources in this connection. A lot of profession were open to the females of this time. They worked as hand maids and nurses for their livelihood. In the royal court they were employed as portresses (*pratihāri*)[84], served as attendants on the king during his toilet[85] and the post of watch woman, whose work it was to announce

the advent of dawn by blowing horns, was also open to them.[86] Female betel leaf bearer (*tambula karanaka Vāhini*) were also known[87]. They also served as interlocutors. Princess Rājyaśri had an attendant named Patrlata who served as an intermediary between her and her brother Harṣha.[88] The lady attendants of the times were known to be sturdy as is evident from their skills in riding horses, elephants, camels and mountaineering.[89] As far as the subtle cultural pursuits are concerned like dance and music[90], drama was a favourite pastime and the profession of acting was also accepted by the females. In fact, women of royal and esteemed families were said to be proficient in sixty four arts. There are other instances of the appointment of females in state offices of considerable importance. The Alina copper plate inscription of Dharasena IV refers to a *dutaka* named *Rājaduhitṛ* (princess) Bhūpā.[91] The Kaira grant of Dhruvasena IV also mentions the name of a royal lady, the princess Bhuvā, who was entrusted with the post of a *dutaka*.[92] The Valabhi grant of Kharagraha II (V.S. 337) also states the name of the *dutaka* as *Pramaṭṛ-Śriṇa* which appears to be the name of a female.[93] Alongside, women were well versed in domestic cores as well and Daṇdin tells us that they were loyal to their husbands and managed the house with great skill and efficiency.[94] There is no evidence of the *purdāh system*, i.e., seclusion of women, though the fashion of wearing a veil by modest ladies continued in this period. During her marriage ceremony, princess Rājyaśri's face was said to be covered by a crimson veil.[95] There were no restrictions on the movement of women as can be deduced from the Mandasor inscription[96] which describes the parks of the city as full of ladies singing and moving free. Women of lower castes enjoyed even more freedom as they

were free to take part in the profession of their husband. They could enter contracts on behalf of their husbands and can also mortgage their counterpart's goodwill.[97]

Regarding the rights of women contemporary jurists hold divergent views. Still, compared to the other periods of ancient Indian history we notice a change for the better in the position of women. This change occurred probably due to the kind and liberalizing influence of Buddhism. For the first time in the history of Hindu law, the right of a woman to inherit was fully recognized in the Yajñavalkya Smṛti.[98] Again, according to Yajñavalka, a brother should spend one fourth of his *dāya bhāga* on his sister's marriage.[99] Further, the same writer says that after the widow and the son, the daughter was legally recognised as the heir of her father's property.[100] A woman was granted full leeway as regards her *Stri dhana*. Yajñavalkya avers that in case of husband shuns his obedient wife, his wife should be given one third of his property.[101] In this period the *Smṛti* writers had a humane attitude towards women.

The Navalkhi or the Nayatkhi plate of Śilāditya I (A.D. 605)[102] and the Valabhi grant of Dhruvasena III (A.D. 653-54)[103] along with a host of other inscriptions refer to the system of *visti* or forced labour, which invariably goes on to prove the existence of slavery in Maitraka kingdom. During the earlier stages of Maitraka rule slaves generally worked as domestic servants. Occasionally though, state utilized their services as farmers in the state farms. But subsequently during the mature phase of their political domination we notice a specific change in the nature of work performed by the slaves. I-tsing tells us that some avaricious Buddhist monks (who were the royal donees), started the practice of getting their lands cultivated by the

slaves. Thus the number of agricultural slave increase manifold during this period. The whole system put fetters on the mobility of these slaves as they were attached to the land, they tilled, for ever. Slaves had only limited rights. They had no right to acquire or inherit any property. They were not free and were not allowed to stand as witness in the courts. But in general their condition improved during this era.

People lived in joint families. Nārada tells us that father, mother, children, brothers all lived in one house and utilized joint property[104]. The head of the family managed this property for the benefit of his family members. Jurists like Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana also recognised private property along side the joint one. In the Maitraka society parents and elders were duly respected. We have repeated references to this effect in the Maitraka inscriptions. Quite often donations were made for the religious merit of the donor kings parents. The grants also depict ones reverence for ones elder brother. This love and affection towards ones parents can be noticed in the Bhamodra-Mohota copper plate of Droṇasiṁha (A.D. 502)[105]. Teachers and Brahmanas were also venerated.

Social Organisation

It is possible to infer from the contemporary accounts of the travellers that the Maitraka kingdom partook of the country wide improvement in the standard of living which came in the wake of the Gupta rule[106]. The Chinese pilgrims seem to have been impressed by the opulence of the people in general. Yuan Chwang noticed that the towns and villages were enclosed by walls which were lofty and wide with pillars of bamboo or wood at intervals[107]. The villagers lived in small huts of close woven wattles and thatched roofs. The dwellings

of house holders were adorned with orchards and garden enclosures. These houses were filled with piles of charcoal, cotton, rice, fruits, vegetables and the like[108]. A Maitraka village represented a self contained and peaceful way of life and its rural society can be characterised by a relative predominance of agricultural occupation, a relatively sparse population, greater social homogeneity and reliance, less internal stratification and lack of territorial, occupational and vertical social mobility of the population.

Predominance of villages during Maitraka times did not check the growth of a large number of towns as centres of culture, advancement and other important activities. Intellectual activities and cultural refinements found better scope is towns than in villages. Further, the concentration of wealth in cities permitted greater expenditure for educational and recreational activities and other public services for the improvement of the standard of living. The contemporary literature of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. bears testimony to the urban refinements of the citizens living in Maitraka dominions. The description of different cities like Valabhi, Ānandapura (modern Vādnagara), Girinagar etc, with big palatial buildings and temples, roads and parts, dense population,[109] with municipalities and courts of justice and with the life of comforts and festivals in inscriptions indicate the general character of social life in towns during the Maitraka period[110]. In contrast to the dwellings in villages, the houses in cities had balconies and belvederes made of wood with a coating of lime or mortar and covered with tiles.[111] They were thatched with rushes and slender stems containing pith, branches, tiles and boards.[112] Their walls were of wattled wood or bamboo[113] and they were plastered with chunam. The floor, as is the

general practice in the Indian houses even currently, was dabbed with cow-dung.[114] These houses had terraces which were used for sleeping on hot summer nights. The streets and lanes were usually spacey but tortuous and had shops on both sides.[115] Yuan Chwang, however, thinks that the Indian people lacked civic sense as they were not hygiene savvy. He observes that the "thorough fares are dirty."[116] But as far as their personal cleanliness was concerned, Yuan Chwang remarks, "they are pure of themselves and not from compulsion".[117] He has discussed their habits and customs at great length.

Food and Drinks

A comprehensive list of food and drinks of a people is not feasible, yet from contemporary sources materials it is possible to comprehend food habits of the time with a fair degree of accuracy. Some information in this regards can be gleaned from the medical works of this period like the *Astānga Saṁgraha* and the *Astānga Hṛdaya*. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* also throw welcome light on the feasts and rules of diet and etiquette during this period. But the first connected account that we have of food during this era comes from Chinese travellers Hshan tsang and I tsing.

Food consumed by masses during the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. has generally been classified into five categories, viz, (a) food grains (b) vegetables (c) fruits (d) non-vegetarian diets and (e) prepared food items as a cue to the culinary art. The Chinese travellers, however, ramify it into five solid foods; roots, stalks, leaves, flowers and fruits, and five soft foods, boiled rice, *Kulmāṣa*,[118] groats, meat and cakes.[119]

Yuan Chwang mentioned rice[120] while giving a list of India crops[121]. A number of varieties of rice are mentioned.[122] Maitraka

inscriptions often refer to the term *dhānya* or paddy while recording the various types of land revenue.[123] Of the rich variety of rice, *sali* was considered the best, Wheat (*godhuma)* was another important food grain. Yuan Chwang refers to wheat as one of the food crops seen during his visit. Taking of Mālavā *(MO-LA-PO),* where Śilāditya ruled, he says, "the soil is suitable in an especial manner for winter wheat. They mostly eat biscuits made of corn flour".[124] I-tsing also mentioned that wheat was abundantly produced in the western region of India.[125] Barley *(yava)* was another principal food crop of the time. Bāṇa in his works has mentioned about barley sheaves[126] and barley blades[127]. A variety of pulses were used in saline preparations. *Peas*[128] and *Rājamaśa*[129] along with sprouted food grams were also used in food preparations. Oil was used extensively for the preparation of different food items. The repeated mention of this by Yuan Chwang[130] and I-tsing[131] is thus indicative of a wide production of oil seeds. Maitraka inscriptions too make frequent mention of the use of oil[132].

Many sauces and condiments were in vogue and sour gruel seems to be a favorite article of food in *Avanti* and *Sauvira*[133]. Sweetmeats were indispensable to the Indian menu and sugar cane was a valued crop. Granulated sugar and sugar candy were included in the list of delicate contemporary food items[134]. Salt, used to add taste and flavour, was an essential accessory and was procured from rocks and seas.[135] A large variety of vegetables were consumed as ancillary food items. Bāṇa has referred to vegetables like *surosa, surana, sigru, granthiparṇa, garmuta, gabedhuka* as well as cucumber and gourd[136]. Yuan Chwang mentions pumpkins being cultivated[137]. But Indians generally abstained from using onions and garlic[138].

Itsing record that in India of the late seventh century, "onions are forbidden and also raw vegetables, therefore, they (Indians) do not suffer from indigestion."[139] Further he mentioned that it was the common belief of the Hindus that the eating of onions was a source of pain. It also caused the loss of eye sight as well as weakening of the body.[140] Yuan Chwang states that lotus fibres were used as food by the ascetics[141]. Fruits constituted one of the necessary ingredient of Indian food. Yuan Chwang noticed that, "from Kashmir on, pears, plums, pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown in all countries.[142] Again, talking of Mālavā he avers, "Flowers and fruits are met with in great quantities".[143] Along side, non vegetarian diets were equally popular, though some general restrictions in this regards were also imposed. The flesh of oxen, cows, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves, lions, monkeys, frogs, bears and apes was forbidden and those who ate the flesh of prohibited animals were looked down upon in society.[144] Still, the fact that meat eating was in vogue is evident from the description of Daṇḍin wherein he vividly describes the preparation of roast venison during an hunting expedition when the slain deer was roasted on a charcoal fire.[145] Further Bṛhaspati prescribed that ladies whose husbands were away should refrain from meat diet.[146] It is thus evident that taking of flesh by ladies was a normal practice. Fish was also a popular non-vegetation item.[147]

As of dairy products, milk continued to be the favourite beverage in India. Both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing noticed that the use of milk and its products was very common.[148] Yuan Chwang referred to milk, butter and cream[149] as common milk preparations. Further he states that milk and butter formed important food articles of the

students at the university of Nālandā.[150] Butter milk was a popular and refreshing drink and the *Harṣacharita* mentions chilled butter milk as a soft drink.[151] Fruit juice was a favourite drink from the earliest times. Bāṇa describes the juice of Jambu fruit taken after meal.[152] Date-palm juice was also popular.[153] I-tsing states that the usual custom in India was to offer soft sweet drinks to distinguished visitors and guests, teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends.[154] Strong and intoxicating liquors were also much in popular use. Addiction to alcohol was so common during this period that Yuan Chwang did not fail to observe the use of different types of spirituous liquors. The custom of drinking wine was not limited to menfolk only, members of the fair sex were also familiar with it.[155]

The variety of preparations and their complex nature reflect the refinement achieved in the culinary art. In fact the art of cooking was considered a specialty and an essential quality of a desirable bride.[156] It was considered to be so important that it was regarded as one of the sixty four fine arts[156A]. Expert cooks were employed and the chief chef in the royal kitchens was designated *Pauragava*.[157] Regarding the cooking appliances Bāṇabhatta gives an exhaustive list that mentions water jars, iron frying pans, cups, oven, fire trays, copper saucepans and simmering pans.[158] Yuan Chwang records that most of the house hold utensils were earthenware and some were made of brass. The rich generally used utensils made of gold or silver, the people of the middle classes, used vessels made of other metals and the poor of, leaves strewn together and earthenware. He also states that people used saucepans and stew pans but they had no idea of steam boilers. He further observed that people ate from a single vessel. Although people did not use spoons and chop sticks,[159] in cases of sickness or

otherwise, copper spoons were used.[160] I-tsing states that fresh leaves sewn together were used as dishes and bronze vessels were also in vogue.[161] Cups made of leave for drinking water were very common.[162] Leather bags were also mentioned by Bāṇa[163].

The rules of diet and etiquette were also elaborated in the contemporary works. Prior to serving food, small pieces of ginger and salt were laid in the corner of the dish. After the principal item, a meal ended with curd or fragrant butter milk.[164] The meal over, fruits and fruit juices were served.[165] Betel nut was the concluding item of the whole ceremony.[166] I-tsing observed that a little portion of food was always kept aside for departed souls and birds.[167]

Costumes, cosmetics and ornaments

It is one of the prerequisites of a fashionable society that its members should be well dressed, and for that, rich and artistic materials, printed, painted, coloured, richly patterned and of fine texture are always in great demand.[168] Beautiful forms apart, dress distinguished different classes, different trades and vocations, different stages of life and different aspects of mind. Though we have no direct reference to the costumes during the Maitraka period, the records of Yuan Chwang, I-tsing and Bāṇabhatta throw welcome and rare light on the variety of cloth material used during these times. People generally dressed according to their standard of living. Thus the upper classes in the kingdom appear to be well dressed. The costumes were made of a variety of textile material. Yuan Chwang categorized it into four groups and states that, "the names of their clothing materials are Kiao-she-ye *(kauśeya)*, Muslin *(tieh)* and calico *(bu)* Kauśheya being silk produced from a wild silk worm,[169] Chui (Chu)-mo (*kśhauma)* a kind of linen; Han (or kan) - po-lo *(kambala)*,

a texture of fine wool (sheep's wool or goats hair), and Ho-la-li (*ral)* a texture made from the wool of a wild animal, this wool being fine and soft and easily spun and woven, is prized as a material for clothing."[170] Apart from Kauśeya type of silk there was another variety, which is described by Bāṇa as bark yellow silk.[171] This variety was also mentioned by I-tsang.[172] Textures like calico and linen were probably made from flax *(kśuma)*, jute *(saṇa)* or hemp *(bhanga)*. Heavy brocade known as *kinkhab* or *puṣpapatta*[173] was some times added to the above type of clothing.

These materials were rendered more beautiful by rich and artistic printing, dyeing and painting. A variety of designs like stripes, chequers, swans etc., were in vogue and in course of time they became the traditional patterns of calico printers.[174] Yuan Chwang speak of striped manufactures at Mathura.[175] Though we have no direct reference to tye-dyeing, it can be assumed that the Maitraka kingdom must have been renowned for it, as Gujarāt, Cutch and Rajputana, have been famous for their tye-dyed clothes known as '*bāndhani*' or '*chundaḍi*'[176] from very early days. It must however be stated that Bāṇa mentions ladies blouses under the name of *pulaka bandhana* by which he probably meant the tye dyed clothes. Apart from *bandhani* textiles like *aprāntaka*[177], *puṣpapatta*[178] and *valā*[179] were in common use in Gujarāt. Talking of silk it is worth mentioning that out of its numerous kinds, one variety technically known as *kidaya* (a silk worm product) is referred to by Devardhigani, the famous Jaina monk, who lived during the regime of king Dhruvasana I, in the early sixth century[180].

From time immemorial men commonly wore *dhoti*,[181] *dupattā* and *turban*[182] all of which were unsewn,[183] justifying thus the

observations of Yuan Chwang that, "the inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring,"[184] and further, "their clothing is not cut or fashioned."[185] But the advent of aliens like the Indo-Greeks the Scythians, the Kuśhāṇas and the Śakas, influenced the costumes to the core, and to this influence could be attributed the appearance of coats, trousers and tunics in ancient India.[186] And thus, in the Gupta and post Gupta era we see a marked preference for the sewn and stitched garment as compared to any previous age.[187] But the Ajantā murals which can be roughly assigned to the same age depict that the official court dress was based on the old style. The members of the nobility wore their *dhotis* in a graceful manner and besides it they used a shawl and a *kamarabandha* (a waist band in which the *dhoti* was ultimately held)[188]. I- tsing also furnished further details about the *dhoti* and he states the people of India, specially the nobility and persons of higher class wore a single white[189] cloth of as garment, while the poorer and the lower classes wrapped a single piece of linen around their waists. These *dhotis* had no girdle and they were used to cover the lower part of the body[190]. The other fashion or style which prevailed during this period consisted of a tunic with loose sleeves folded half way and trousers of *churidar* type and a close fitting cap.[191]

Women's attire generally consisted of *'sāris'* and *'chādars'*, a costume as cool and comparable for the hot climate of our country, as the *'dhoti'* worn by men.[192] Yuan Chwang says that ladies usually wore a single long robe which after covering both their shoulders hung loose downwards.[193] Kālidāsa has referred to *cola* and *kurpasaka* and *sthāna msuka*; terms probably the prototype of present day bodice.[194] Alongside being draped in *sāri* and *chādar*, the women

also wore a *vaikakśya* (a garland worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm like the *yajñopavita)*. A *yogapatta* (a scarf) was worn above the navel.[195] and was used as a support or a *bandha* for the upper garment. A *candataka*[196] (petticoat) which was worn under the gown *(kancuka)*[197], was fastened to the gridle. The women were also clad in full sleeved tunics reaching the knees.[198] The full armed and half armed jackets were also in vogue[199]. To impart a gracious look and to break the monotony of the wrapped around white sheets, women practiced various modes of wearing the unsewn *sāri.* As shown by the Ajanta paintings, the children wore a dhoti, *channavira* or *pataka* and their hair was tied by a ribbon[200].

As to the garments of hermits, it is said that religious recluses and ascetics wore cloths made of the fibres of fruit, *munja* grass, the inner bark of certain trees (*balkala*), *darbha* and *valvaja* grasses and blankets made of the hair of the camel, goat and from human hair.[201] Describing Valabhi, Yuan Chwang talks of the charity of king Dhruvapata and mentions the bestowing of the 'three garments'[202] to the priests. Apart from him, I-tsing another Chinese traveller has given an exhaustive list of garments used by the Buddhist monks.[203] The hermits also used silk and the woolens. People generally walked bare footed though some kinds of foot ware are known to have existed.[204] The early Buddhist records mention both shoes and sandals of varied shapes, materials, hues and colours[204A]. Linked to the costumes are cosmetics, coiffure and toilet. Flowers, oils, perfumes, incense, unguent and collyrium were some of the objects used quite frequently by both sexes for their facial and body make up. It is worth noting that this was regarded as a *sine qua non* of personal hygine.[205] This fact is illustrated by the use of collyrium which according to

ancient beliefs increase eye sight besides adding to one's coquettishness.[206] There are ample proofs of its use right from the times of Mohanjodaro[207] to the Maitraka period and beyond.

Minute details about the toilet and its accessories prevalent among the young turks of esteemed families, can be gathered from the contemporary account of Bāṇabhatta.[208] According to this description all the requisites of the toilets in a ready to use condition were kept on an elevated shelf. These ingredients consisted of ointment (*anulepana*), a basket of garlands (*siktha-karandaka*), scent box (*saugandhika-putika*), skin or peel of the citron fruit (*matulungatvacah*) and betel-leaf. Incense was used to fumigate the garments and collyrium and lip-stick (lac-dye) were applied in front of a mirror. *Kāmasūtra* has enlisted other things like massage, shampoo and shaving (on every fourth day); all of which were practiced as a mode to enhance the longevity, as well as items of personal hygiene.[209]

Thus it seems that people in the Maitraka age were not unmindful of the fashions and fads and the items they used were *a la mode*. So it was only natural that in such a fashionable society the members, of the fair sex cared the utmost and exhausted their skills for the upkeep of their make up. The varieties for their coiffure are astonishing. They decorated themselves with flowers and applied ointments of various hues to enhance their beauty. They painted their feet with saffron[210], their loins with sandal[211], the face with round, floral or natural designs and eyes with collyrium. For aroma they used comphor-powder, saffron, musk and sandal[212] and their hair was perfumed by fragrant oil.[213] The teeth were stained red or black[214], the lips were painted with lac-dye and a *tilak* was painted on the fore

head. Designs were also drawn on arms, temples, breast etc.[215] and scented oils and powders were smeared on the body. Betel leaves were chewed with spices like cloves, camphor, nut meg and other similar objects of flavour[216] to impart redness to the lips and to help digestion.[217]

Ornaments and jewellery made up of gems, gold and precious and semi-precious stones were in vogue during the Maitraka period. Men and women both were fond of wearing ornaments. While poor people wore few ornaments the commoners or the middle class people along with the mercantile wealthy men wore bracelets[218], anklets etc. But head ornaments were specifically reserved for the king and the nobles, thus showing that during the period under study, it was regarded as an object of prestige. Ornaments were used to adorn the arms, ankles, neck, ears and forehead and the jewellery generally comprised of the crest jewel (*ćūḍāmaṇi*), ear rings (*kuṇḍala*), neclace (*vaśtikam*), armlets (*keyura*), bracelets (*valaya*), finger rings (*anguliyaka*), girdle (*mekhalā*) and anklets (*nūpura*). Information regarding the ornaments of the royalty is not lacking in the contemporary epigraphical records. We gather from some of the Maitraka inscriptions that the kings occasionally wore a jewelled crown (*kirita*)[219] and some times a *chūḍāmaṇi*[220] or a *chūḍaratna*.[221] The locks of their hair were bedecked with jewels[222], and their forearms with bracelets[223] studded with beads and precious stones, while their ears were ornamented with ear rings.[224] Though there was love and fondness for ornaments, the quality of the jewellery naturally depended on the means of an individual. The most common ornaments of women were, of course, the bangles. A stone image of a goddess found from the ruins at Valabhi has as many as eleven

bangles on her hands.[225] Besides women also used the head dress necklace, bracelets, anklets and girdle.[226]

Maitraka people were quite vivacious, juvenile at their heart and believed in *joie de vivre.* The people along with the royalty celebrated festivals with great pomp and show, festivities continuing for several days. The festivals fell in two broad categories : royal and religious. The coronation of the king was an occasion for great celeberation.[227] People from far and wide flocked to witness the event. The occasion[228] was full of rituals and the festivities ended with the donation of gifts to the brahmanas.[229] Another occasion for celebration was the birth of a son in the royal family, which according to Bāṇa[230], set the entire population dancing. *Rathayātra*[231] and royal feasts were other forms of celebrations. Dice play and hunting[232] were the famous pass time games of the people.

As far as the custom of the disposal of dead was concerned, Yuan Chwang mentions three existing methods. The first was by cremation, i.e., burning the corpse on a pyre; the second one was water burial; and in the third case the dead body was left in the open to be eaten by the beast.[233]

Culture is one of the most important aspect of a society. Arts and crafts, literature, script, language and education are some of the essential ingredients of a vibrant culture. The Maitraka culture was rich in this regard. Various arts and crafts like decorated pottery, bead making, *bādhani or cundari* type of cloth, making of the idols and sculptures etc., flourished during the Maitraka times. Some of the other important crafts are discussed in the chapter on economy. A detailed description of the literacy activities during the Maitraka rule has already been provided in the chapter relating to he source

material. Three other salient features of the Maitraka society were the state of education, the script and the language under them.

Educational System *(Both monestic and non monestic)*

Education is termed as the natural, progressive and harmonious development of a man's innate powers. It enables a man to think rationally, act purposefully and deal effectively with the environment. Education was regarded essentially as a process of illumination and emancipation. Education in ancient India mainly aimed at culturing the mind of the people, harnessing their acumen and strengthening their faculties, both physical and intellectual, so as to inspire them with a healthy attitude towards life. Great emphasis was laid on knowledge, which was valued in ancient India for its own sake; it was itself regarded as an end. Again, it was represented as a precious treasure handed down *in toto* from generation to generation. Thus the time honoured system of oral instruction remained in vogue during the Maitrka times as well, though several writing materials were also used by people of India. It is learnt from contemporary records that palmyra leaf[234], various types of barks[235] (especially of birch tree)[236], folios made of pink-hued aloe-bark[237], cloth and skins were all utilised for writing purposes.

It is said that education, just like the other aspects of social life in ancient India, was animated by the religious feeling. Therefore, it is not astonishing to find three different systems of education in prevalence during the Maitraka age. Formal education[238] during the times was imparted through three divergent religious agencies namely, the Hindu, the Buddhist and the Jaina, which in compliance with the catholic nature of the various rulers of this dynasty, were accorded equal patronage.

The Hindu System

Education occupied an important position in the ancient Hindu social structure. Broadly speaking three different types of institutions were in vogue which imparted education to the people. In the first instance there was the popular system under which the teacher, a settled householder, admitted pupils of tender age and imparted instructions to them. The students usually spent twelve years with their *gurus*. Second came the *gurukula* or *tirtha*, hermitages of learned ascetics headed by *kulpatis*. These institutions were meant for imparting of advance education to the students who raved to know more, and were popularly known as academies. These houses of preceptors or centres were usually situated at places far from the madding crowd, though occasionally the big cities and the capital of kingdoms also had their institutions for advanced learning under eminent *ācharyas* known both for their character and knowledge, and pupils came to them from distant places to receive instructions in different branches of study.[239] Daṇdin, in fact, speaks of the learned assemblies of the brahmanas and the ksatriyas (*brahma kśatra saṁsads*) which convened discussions on various philosophical matters and regulated the academic activities of the divergent schools.[240] These academic institutions were in general, run by individual teachers and scholars. In addition to these, as a third option, the king often convened special national gatherings or congress in which the representative thinkers of the various schools were invited to meet and exchange their views.

Whether a Hindu university ever existed in Valabhi or not is still a moot point. Though we have scanty evidence at our disposal in this regards, it seems quite unimaginable that the capital of a Hindu

dynasty should be without a Hindu institution for advance learning.[241] The tradition of Valabhi as a centre of Hindu studies is probably preserved in the *KathāsaritaSāgara*, a work of the eleventh century, which narrates a story of Viṣhṇudatta, a brahmana youth from Antarvedi, who went to Valabhi for higher studies even though centres like Benaras and Nālandā were nearer to his home on the banks of the river Ganges.[242] We also come across a fourteenth century work relating how Mayuraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, finding that the local brahmanas had fallen from their status, went all the way to Valabhi to bring some who could help him at a sacrifice.[243] Although this story has been discredited[244], yet epigraphic evidence is not lacking to prove that Valabhi served as a nursery of brahmanas, supplying priests to different parts of India.[245] Though the Maitraka inscriptions are silent in this regards, it does not, however, mean that the Hindus had no institution to impart education according to their age old traditional methods. For else, how we would be able to explain the great literary pursuit that went on at the royal court as well as in the country throughout the Maitraka period. It is an established fact that Bhatti, the author of the famous *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Rāvaṇavadhya*, flourished under the patronage of the Maitraka king Dharasena. Well known authors like Bana, Daṇdin, Māgha, Bhartṛhari also shone in their brilliance in the contemporary society of the time and were appreciated by the intelligentia. These celebrities must have had a high standard of educational background to compose such outstanding works and in most cases they had enlightened royal patronage.

The Maitraka records while describing the literary achievements of their various rulers, make it explicit that Hindu

learning was far from neglected under their sceptre. The nomenclatures and the *nom de plumes* assumed by the various Maitraka monarchs depict their virtuosity and deep inclination towards learning. For example, titles such as '*samyag upalakśitaṇka-śāstra*' and '*sakala-Smṛti-pramitamārgga paripālana-prajā-hṛdaya*' of king Dharasena II and his predecessor Guhasena show the great importance attached to the Dharmaśāstra.[246] Similarly, the description of king Dhruvasena I, as well versed in philosophy, *dhanurvidya* (i.e. science of archery)[247]; that of Dronasimha as accomplished in the Smṛtis[248]; of Dhruvsena II as having acquired mastery over Pāṇini's system of grammar[249]; of Śilāditya I as a poet[250], and of Śilāditya VII, who was designated as '*jñana-trayi*', i.e. one well versed in the three Vedas[251], all these speak of necessary training and education imparted to the royal personages and show that these were the common subjects of study during the period. Other inscriptions, too, indicate that the Maitraka rulers of Valabhi were well educated. A Valabhi grant of Dhruvasena III refers to king Śilāditya whose mind was refined by the study of the higher and lower branches of all sciences.[252] It also records that ornamentation of the ears of king Dhruvasena III with jewels appeared superfluous because they were already adorned with extensive sacred knowledge of various kinds.[253] Finally, the description of Śilāditya I as, '*Sarvva vidyā-para parama-bhāgadhigamavimala-matih*',[254] reveals that religious emphasis was put on the education system. Further, working of Maitraka princes as *dutakas* and scribes in the various land grants of the dynasty also show that they were well educated[211].

Beyond doubt then, the Hindu system of education was very much an integral element of the Maitraka society. The Maitraka

epigraphs refer to various brahmanas belonging to different Vedic *Śākhās* (branches). For instance, a brahmana named Rudragopa is described as a student of Atharva-veda[255], while another is spoken of as a student of Vājesaneya Śākhā,[256] and the Kauthumi Śākhā of the Sāmaveda.[257] Hence there was clear influence of Vedas in Maitraka educational set up. Then again, some of the popular mythological characters (particularly of the Epics) were also mentioned in the Maitraka inscriptions. For example, Maharaja Droṇasiṁha is called *Dharmarāja* in the Maliya copper plate inscription of Dharasena II and hence compared with Yudhiṣṭhira of Mahābhārata.[258] Further king Guhasena was described as *Dhaneśa* (lord of wealth and Bṛhaspati (lord of learning).[259] Thus the popularity of these characters of the Epics show that the same were widely read even by the common people of the age under study.

As far as the format of the Hindu educational system was concerned, it is presumed that it still adhered to the time honoured methods of learning. The present day facilities of writing and printing having been non existent, greater emphasis was laid in those days, on learning the lessons and the long texts by heart and consequently the power of retention was considered the chief criterion for testing the aptitude of the pupils. The retentive faculty was, therefore, cultivated since early childhood with great care, attention and regular exercise. This invariably culminated into cramming by the students. But while the students learnt everything by rote during earlier stages, due emphasis was laid on proper understanding of the subject later on. The entire teaching was done by oral method, and though there existed manuscripts, they were used or consulted very sparingly and the fact is testified to by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang.[260]

Hindu education was divided into various stages. Formal education started at the age of five years.[261] Primary education was assigned a definite place in the educational system during this period by the exaltation of its beginning into a religious ritual known as *akśharasvikāraṇa*, which was performed at about the age of five or six.[262] This was the time for the starting of the primary education. Primary education was in the hand of the village school masters, who taught in the *pāthaśālās*. The course of instructions given in these elementary schools consisted of the 3 R's, i.e., reading, writing and arithmetic. Boys began their study with the primary and compound alphabets and used to spend about six months in mastering them.[263] Stress was laid on repeated memorization of the alphabets. This was done because, not only it developed the intellect of a student by repeatedly committing it to memory but also, the alphabet fixed one's ideas.[264] It also included a knowledge of Sanskrit phonetics and elementary grammar. Then about a year was spent in mastering elementary arithmetic. In an age when paper and cheap text books were unknown, simple alternatives were sought. Boys of the rich families used to write on wooden boards in some kind of colour while the poorer students used to write on ground, covered with sand or dust. There were no pencils and they used painted sticks or their own fingers for writing the alphabet. The latter method incidentally trained the muscles, the necessity of which is advocated in the modern *Montessori* (playway) method.[265]

Primary schools and their teachers are referred to only occasionally and they are usually described as *lipiśālās* (alphabet schools) and *darakāchāryas* (teachers of little children), respectively.[266] Public schools for primary education during the

period were rare. Primary education was generally imparted through private and co-operative schools. Along with these subjects the students were also taught the *niti-śāstras* (moral precepts) with fables, the most important of which was probably the *Panchtantra*. Under the system of elementary education in those days, teachers also taught the letters of the alphabet in association with a word beginning with the letter.[267]

After finishing the primary education which consisted of learning of the basis essentials of script, language and literature, students were sent to *gurukulas* (the teacher's house) for regular Vedic and Śāstric education. Here the foundations were laid of their future careers.[268] The *Upnayana Saṁskara* (i.e, taking near) was performed before the commencement of this stage of the student life, a ceremony which was considered as a grand event in a male student's life, marking as it were the beginning of his spiritual life. The age for this ceremony in the case of the brahmana, kśatriya and vaiśya boys respectively was the eighth, eleventh and the twelfth year.[269] It may, however, be added here that there did occur a few instances where people began their studies in adult age[270], such cases occurred when they could not, for some reason or the other, pursue their studies in boyhood and were forced by circumstances or felt a genuine urge at a later stage to acquire learning.[271] Again, the period of study varied from family to family or rather individual to individual; it was in fact a matter of convenience and personal inclination to studies. In general, however, since the marriageable age has been lower in this period, there was a corresponding curtailment in the span of study, though there were cases where pupils, stayed with their teacher for thirty six years or so.[272] A few of the pupils chose to pursue

knowledge with strict celibacy as a life long vow and they received the designation of *naiṣthika* or a perpetual student.[273] The other category which comprised of most of the students was known by the name of *upkuvārṇa* or students who returned to their home after rewarding the kindness of their teachers in the form of *gurudakśiṇā*, on the completion of their studies. Yuan Chwang avers that when the disciples reached the age of thirty years, with their minds settled and their education complete, they chose their profession and the first thing they did was reward the kindness of their teachers.[274]

During the early stages of higher education, boys (especially the brahmanas), used to study the Sūtras of Pāṇini and some other simple grammatical works from the age of eight to eleven.[275] From this time onwards a period of strenuous study and rigorous exertions for mastering of sacred texts began.[276] Yajñavalkya has described in great detail the regular and methodical life of a student after the *upnayana* ceremony. The *Gāyatri mantra* was recited both of dawn and dusk with fixed attention.[277] For developing active habits the teacher from the very outset taught his pupils about personal cleanliness, rules of etiquette, the duty of attendance on the sacrificial fire and devotions like *sandhyā*. The study of the Vedas was considered to be most important and particular case was taken for pronouncing correctly every syllable and accent. Along side the four Vedas, the brahmanical educational system also laid emphasis on the learning of the eighteen *vidyās* (branches) which included, the six Vedāngas, Purāṇas, the six systems of philosophy (i.e. the Śāstra's), Dharamaśāstras, the four *Upavedas* (tiny or small Vedas), namely, Dhanur veda Gandharva veda, Āyuraveda and Śilpaveda) and the Arthaśāstra. These subjects were of specific importance to the

brahmana students and for them stress was laid on the knowledge of grammar, reasoning and literature.[278]

As mentioned above, the kings were also highly educated during the Maitraka times. Besides academic attainments the monarchs as well as the big generals and nobles also had to take military and physical tranining.[279] Great significance was attached to the elaborate practice of royal training, as the welfare of a kingdom depended materially on the enlightened out took of the monarch. But whether or not the ordinary kśatriya soldiers had any access to proper academic education apart from the military training is doubtful.[280] The vaisyas who were engaged in trade were of course literate and often cultured.[281] Same was the case with better class traders and merchants, from whom, during the period, it was made imperative to have knowledge of the value of gems, pearls, corals, metals, cloth, perfumes, and condiments, of the manner of sowing seeds and the qualities of soils, of weights and measures, of the varieties of merchandise and the probable profit and loss in their transit, of wages of servants, of different languages and different countries. The sudras[281A] who formed the ordinary agricultural and the bulk of the labouring classes and along with the untouchables were prohibited to have the *upanayana*, and were all illiterate. Apart from the royal ladies, women as a class, also ceased to be literate towards the end of the eighth century.[282]

The spread of the Hindu education was far more intensive than extensive. It was infact an age of depth, and not of diffusion, of scholarship, and only those who were imbued with a genuine spirit of inquisitiveness went in for the advanced courses of study in different brances of learning. Thus, the literacy rate among the males of the

three higher castes stood at a mere forty percent towards the end of the eight's century A.D.[283]

Quite unlike the primary education, which was of either private or co-operative nature, higher education was often imparted through public schools.[284] Similarly, while primary school teachers generally came from the various sections of the society as they belonged to the families of the village accountants, priests, Kāyasthas (writers) or traders, the high school teachers were invariably the brahmanas.[285] Inspite of these differences the education during the period was imparted through the medium of Sanskrit, as the language was in resurgence during the times, though some vernacular primary schools also existed in juxtaposition. Education was generally imparted free of cost. Instead of giving any fee the pupils generally served their teachers and helped in domestic work at their residence.

A teachers life was not very luxurious, nor was his job lucrative. Yuan Chwang, infact, mentions some teachers who despite of being dependent on studying and teaching life long, were not rich and lived very simple and austere life.[286] The teachers or *guru's* (a general term to connote a teacher) fell into two categories, viz., the *ācharya* and the *upādhyāya*.[287] The relations between the teacher and his pupil were very cordial and were as profound as that of a father with his children. The pupils received their teacher with all humility and obeyed his orders most respectfully. They embraced the feet of their *guru* at the beginning and at the end of a lecture, a fact which shows the veneration in which the teacher was held in those days. The preceptors on their part also treated their students with great affection.

The Jaina System

Yet another system of education in prevalence at Valabhi was the Jaina system. Valabhi has been regarded as the traditional abode of Jainism. It was here that the *Śvetāmbara* canon was collected and published. Right from the origin of the Maitraka rule, their capital city had become the scene of a great scriptural activity. From now on it was deemed absolutely necessary to prepare manuscripts of the Jaina canonical literature and the practice of transmitting learning from generation to generation orally was discontinued. This redaction into writing is technically termed as *pustakārohaṇa* of the Jaina Āgamas.[288] Naturally it turned into a rendezvous of the Jaina savants. Quite a few Jaina scholars like Māllavadin, Jitayasas, Yakśa and Jinanandasūri,[289] lived and thrived at Valabhi. One of these savants was Dhaneśvarasūri, the author of the famous *Śatrunjaya Mahātmya*, who describes himself in this work as a tutor of king Śilāditya.[290] These references to the Jaina scholars point to the existence of Jaina educational institutions in the kingdom, though we have no epigraphic or contemporary literary evidence to support this assumption.

Education among the Jainas was dispensed by two different agencies, the art schools and the monasteries. As the Jaina laity was mostly engaged in commercial and industrial persuits and careers, they were not very keen for education in humanities for their children. The latter received their training on the professional side usually in their own families or some times through the agency of guilds.[291] This was precisely why art schools gained prominence among the Jaina community. These schools were in the form of regularly organised institutions where education was imparted to all irrespective of caste, creed or sex.[292] The instruction given in these art schools

was religious as well as secular and was designed to fulfill the needs and requirement of the students in different walks of life, so as to convert them into better citizens.[293] It is believed that these institutes were run with the help of state subsidies.[294] As in the case of the Hindu *gurukulas*, the Jaina pupils also assisted their teachers in their household chores[295] while they remained under them, and paid an honorarium to their preceptors on completion of their studies.[296]

The art schools were generally patronized at the primary and secondary levels, after which these students generally entered the brahmanical or the monastic institutes.[297] Pupils were admitted to these schools on the attainment of seven years of age and they continued here for about a further seven years.[298] The curricula of these schools was designed to cater to the physical, mental, emotional and psychological needs of the scholars from their boyhood to early adolescence. The subjects taught were of fundamental importance and fell into four broad categories, viz. (i) the study of the 3 R's, which was meant to equip the child with the rudiments of knowledge; (ii) the fine arts comprising of music, dance, singing, drawing, painting and other cognate subjects; (iii) the military education which apart from laying stress on physical training also took care of allied courses like hunting, riding and archery ; and finally, (iv) the academic and scientific branches of study which concentrated on subjects like knowledge of Vedas, Vedāngas, astrology, astronomy, mineralogy, medicine etc., along with the study of vernacular languages, compositions and the art of public speaking or oratory[298A]. Thus, the courses were devised in such a way, so that the students can get both intellectual pleasure and economic gain.

The method of teaching was based on sound educational psychology. Education was never forced on an unwilling mind.[299] Studies continued right from dawn to dusk with just a single break for lunch. Instructions were imparted to the pupils either individually or in groups depending on the nature of the subject. Thus the students passed about seven years in these art schools where they lived a gay, decent and vigorous life.[300]

The Jaina religion laid greater emphasis on rigorous austerities than on the preservation of the sacred canon; as a result a good deal of even the canonical literature was lost as early as the fourth century B.C. But from about the beginning of the Christen era, the Jaina temples and *chaityas* became common and gradually the monastic institutions also started taking form. Though earlier, whole of the emphasis of Jains was on religion and they neglected literature, later on (and definitely during the Maitraka period when the redaction of the Jaina canon took place) the situation was reversed and as a matter of fact the Jaina priests became more active in the field of literature than in that of religion.[301] These monasteries were the prototype of the Buddhist *vihāras* and the Jaina students joined them after finishing their studies in the art schools.[302] These monasteries were situated in the suburbs of cities, away from the hustle and bustle of the work a day life and probably formed independent units by them selves. The principle followed regarding the location of these institutes was to select a site which is easily accessible to the faithful and suitable to the 'learned leisure'[303]

Each monastery was managed and administered by a hierarchy of officers[304], who were selected from among the monks according to the specific qualifications and requirements for their offices. These

officers apparently constituted the executive council which managed the general administration of the institution. The fountain head or the *charge de affair* of this body was the *Siddha* who with the assistance of the *Ārhat* controlled the policy of the institution. Next in rank came the *Āchāryas* (the learned monks and the most important among the teachers, also termed as preceptors) who along with the *Upādhyāyas* (subpreceptors) were entrusted with the actual teaching work. Lastely, came the *Sādhus*. All five in union constituted a council which was known as the *Pañcha-parameśthi* of the Jaina monsatery.[305] Other petty officers were the *Pravjyadayakas* (who discharged the function of initiating novices and laymen into the ascetic fold), *Niryāpakas* (who was incharge of the rehabilitation of the erring members of the order) and the *Śrāmaṇas* (the common monks who probably assisted in teaching in the monastery).

The curriculum was quite exhaustive[305A]. Education upto graduation was both intensive and extensive and it was divided into three stages. The brahmanical works together with the art course were taken up at the first stage. The second stage included the whole gamut of Buddhist studies, while in the third and final stage knowledge of the important Jaina works like the Angas was imparted to the students. In general the course included instructions in religion, arts, literature, physical culture and other similar subjects. At the post graduation level the curricula included the study of subjects like the Vedas, Vedāngas, philosophy, history, higher mathematics, literature, astronomy, grammar, prosody, poetics, lexicography, politics[305B], together with the sacred texts of the brahmanas, the Jaina works on medicine and the grammar of Pāṇini.[306] Speical attention was paid to astrology and there were several Jaina scholars who attained great

proficiency in the science. The method of study persued in the Jaina monasteries was both comprehensive and rational and five fold system comprising of rehearsal, repetition or revision, interrogation, concentration and discussion respectively, was devised to help learn a given passage from the texts.

Life was simple and straight forward in these monasteries and the students resided here in the company of their teachers.[307] The pupil showed great veneration towards his preceptor and followed his command *in toto*. The relations between the teacher and the taught were cordial[308] and the student obeyed their teachers without expressing signs of fatigue or distress[307A]. Special provisions were made for the education of females as Jains organized hermitages intended exclusively for women[309]. Though in the study of scriptures the Jaina monks and nuns had for most part common ground to cover, there was no room for co-education in the Jaina system. The *Sādahvis* (nuns) were taught by senior *Sādhavis*[310]. Further, in the Jaina education system, women were debarred from studying some of the religious work which were deemed fit only for the males.[311] But apart from these restrictions, women were permitted to acquire complete knowledge. Just as in the art schools, no fees was charged for instruction imparted in the monasteries[312]. In cases of necessity even lay scholars were provided with free boarding and loading[313].

One of the notable feature of the Jaina method of learning was that it was the first to initiate the use of vernacular languages instead of Sanskrit or Prākrit, as the medium of instruction. Their pedagogues believed that ones mother tongue was the best instrument for imparting of knowledge.[314] This method of teaching infact gave a great impetus to the vernacular languages which had continued so far

in an embryonic stage of development. Moreover, to the Jainas goes the credit of having first started elementary vernacular schools in India. Alongside the teachers were also motivated to master various languages in order to teach their pupils through the medium of their own mother tongue[315]. Accordingly, the preceptor was expected to broaden his outlook by travel, thus coming into contact with diverse peoples and customs.[316] It could be seen and inferred from above that education was imparted according to the convenience of the students and it harnessed adaptability so that it can be accepted.

Education was considered as a life long process in the Jainism and the duration of studies, it appears, filled up the major part of the students active life. On completion of studies, academic honours in different grades and categories were conferred on the successful candidates according to merit. The examination invariably took the form of a debate in which the knowledge and understanding of a student were tested. Those students who came out triumphant in these contests were awarded titles, conveying the extent of their learning. The Jaina schools followed a strict disciplined life, and holidays (known as *asvadhyāyas)*[317] were rare. Finally, the Jaina literature bears ample testimony to the fact that scholarship in ancient India received due patronage from the state.[318]

The Buddhist System

The history of education in the Maitraka kingdom would indeed be incomplete, if a description of the Buddhist system of instruction were omitted. Infact, Valabhi, the Maitraka capital was much celebrated as a seat of learning, and vied with the sister University of Nālandā in promoting Buddhist studies. The Maitraka kings accorded due patronage to the Buddhist and among the extant grants of these

rulers, a lot many are those which were issued to the Buddhist *viharas*[319]. We get a fair amount of information regarding the Buddhist systems of education from the testimonies of Husan tsang and I-tsing. According to the former, the first Chinese traveller to visit Valabhi, "it had about 100 Buddhist monasteries, with 6000 brethren adherents of the Hinayāna Sammatiya school"[320]. Further, he also mentions two famous monks, Āchārya Sthirmati and Guṇamati, who resided in a monastery outside the town.[321] Both were pupils of the celebrated *puṇdit* from Nālandā, Vasubandhu. It would appear from I-tsing's account that like Nālandā, Valabhi too acted as a radiating centre of Buddhist studies and received alumni who came from distant places.[322] Thus, it became the rendezvous of eminent scholars who flocked to it from all regions.

On the breakup of the Gupta empire, India became once again, a string of regional histories of small kingdoms with shifting boundaries. Among these kingdoms, however, the Maitraka kingdom in Gujarāt with its capital at Valabhi inherited the Gupta tradition of royal patronage to monasteries. The Buddhism flourished at its capital Valabhi, which rose to widespread fame as the centre of learning. Of course, the existence of the Jaina as well as the brahmanical institutions for learners of the Jaina as well as the brahmanical institutions for learners at Valabhi under the Maitraka regime is based on historical evidence and the Buddhist monasteries did not enjoy a monopoly in this matter. Yet the royal endowments were made mostly to the Buddhist vihāras. The copper plate grants of the Maitrakas bear ample testimony to this fact. For example, inscriptions cite that the first vihāra of Valabhi was built by Princess Dudda[323], who was a devotee of the Buddha and niece of king Dhruvasena I. Another monastery called the *Abhaṿāntarika vihāra*

was founded by Mimma, a royal lady with the Buddhist leanings.[324] These vihāras were inhabited by monks, whose intellectual pursuits as well as material needs were met by royal endowments. The grant of Dharasena I records the royal grant of two villages to the monastery of Sri Bappā-pada to defray the cost of daily worship, clothing, food and medicine for the inmates and the repairs of the monastery.[325] Dharasena IV too granted villages to a monastery erected by Skandabhata for the same purpose.[326] Thus, one can surmise that Indians had deep respect for scholars and men of genius, be they the Hindus, the Buddhists or foreigners. This particular trait was especially noticed by Yuan Chwang. He relates that honours and praises of men of high intelligence were excessive.[327]

It seems that Nālandā and Valabhi were the two universities which students in I-tsing's time clamoured to enter or attend in order to acquire the stamp of culture and refinement. I-tsing observes, "Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others[328] they pass two or three years, generally in the Nālandā monastery in Central India, or in the country of Valabhi in western India."[329] He compared these two paragons or light houses of learning to two famous universities of China and remarked that eminent and accomplished scholars assemble here in crowds and debate and discuss possible and impossible doctrines (of Buddhism) and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, become far famed for their wisdom.[330] The names of the famous scholars of the University[ϕ] were written in white on its lofty gates, as well also done at Nālandā.[331]

ϕ The existence of a university at Valabhi is testified by a later record from Bengal, dated 12th century A.D., which mentions one Bhavadeva (c. 1060 to 1110 A.D.) as *bala Valabhi bhujanga* and the term is thus explained by the commentator : पुरा किल वलभी नाम अध्ययनशाला आसीत् ! – *I.H.Q.*, 1946, p. 134.

Quite unfortunately, however, save for this incidental mention of Valabhi by I-tsing and some other stray references,[332] there is hardly any information regarding the working of Valabhi as the once famous seat of learning. But since it was a Buddhist institution we may probably presume that making due allowances for regional peculiarities, the general lines of its organisation were similar to those of other Buddhist universities of the period. Therefore we may suppose that as at Nālandā and Vikramaśilā, opportunities to attend the university were extended only to those who had received their primary and secondary education at these centres. The right of the native alumni of these universities was exclusive in this regards though some exceptions were made, as some of the outsiders[333] who were successful in the test held at the main gati of the unversity[334], were also allowed to appear in the entrance examination.[335] A lot of students queued up to get admission in these universities but entrance in them was tough[335A]. Higher education was regarded as the privilege of the intelligent in those times thus high standard of examinations was maintained. This can be deduced from the observations of Yuan Chwang who comments that only two or three candidates were declared successful out of every ten.[336] As to the syllabus, an idea of the course at the pre-matriculation level can be formed by the records of Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. From the precise account of Yuan Chwang about the Buddhist studies, it is learnt that a beginner's primary education started with the study *Siddham* (which is from the expression *Siddhirastu*, May there be success) or a primer of twelve chapters,[337] giving the Sanskrit alphabet and the combination between vowels and consonant. When a child reached seven years, the great Śāstras of the five sciences (treatises of the five sciences) were gradually unfolded to him. These included the science of grammar

(vyākraṇa), the science of skilled professions concerned with the principles of mechanical arts and crafts *(śilpasthānavidyā)*; science of medicine *(chikitsāvidyā)* ; science of reasoning and logic *(hetu-vidyā)*; and science of the internal associated with five vehicles and the doctrine of karma *(ādhyātma vidyā)*[338]. It is thus clear that the element of both secular and religious knowledge of philosophical and practical subjects entered into the composition of this elementary course of education and it provided the necessary basis of a good culture upon which specialization could be successfully attempted in the universities. Then again, I-tsing explains that the child began at the age of six with the Siddha composition,[339] which took about six months to finish. Next the student was introduced to Pāṇini's Sūtra's, which constituted the foundations of all grammatical science.[340] Starting at the age of eight years a child usually took eight months to master the treatise. This was probably followed when the student was in his ninth year, by a course in the book on *dhātu*, which consisted of thousand verses relating to grammatical roots. At the age of ten began the study on the book on the three *khilas*, viz, *aṣtadhātu* (related to fundamentals of Sanskrit grammar including the declension of nouns and the conjunction of verbs), consisting of 10000 *ślokas* ; *Wen-chas* (Manda or Munda) consisting of 1000 *slokas* ; and *Unadi* too consisting of 1000 ślokas[341]. Munda and Unadi were related to the formation of words by combining the roots along with the knowledge of suffixes. Thus by the age of thirteen a boy completed the study of this important part of grammar. Thereafter at the age of fifteen the pupil was introduced to the *Vrtti-Sūtra*[342], consisting of a corpus of 18000 *ślokas*. Boys of fifteen began to study this commentary and it took them almost five years to understand it[343]. With this sound footing and background in Sanskrit, which was the medium of

instruction in higher studies the students were eligible to join the course in the university at the age of twenty. It is thus clear that sound and well developed system of preliminary and secondary education harnessed the raw talent and latent powers of a student and prepared solid ground for his smooth promotion to the universities, for the acquisition of higher studies.

Contents of higher education at the university level were determined by the particular Buddhist schools to which they belonged. Still in general, apart from the subjects mentioned above, various other subjects such as the numerous productions of secular writers, the four Vedas, works on astronomy and geography, medical art, magic and arithmetic were taught at the educational centres[344]. But since both Nālandā and Valabhi were Buddhist institutions, it was natural that Buddhist theology and philosophy should have been accorded prominent place at these universities[344A]. Some of the secular subjects studied were by Patānjali and Pāṇini. Various *Sūtras* and *Śāstras* were also subjects for the scholars at the Nālandā and Valabhi schools. We know, for instance that Yuan Chwang copied some four hundred chapters of *Sūtras* and *Śāstras* while at Nālandā[345]. Furthermore, the Buddhist priests studied *Vinaya Piṭaka*[345A] along with the *Vedas*, which shows that authorities in these universities were not sectarian and in matters of education their out look was wide and tolerant. They imparted education for its own sake and enriched Indian culture and civilization by imbibing knowledge even from foreigners. Besides these subjects, advanced scholars, studied the commentaries on various works[346]. Finally at the research level the alumni underwent training in the compilation of encyclopaedias, theology, philosophy, logic, grammar etc. Though in earlier periods,

the Buddhist *vihāras* were only monastic in nature, later on, (during the period under review) they turned into centres of education and learning as well. Thus university education catered to the needs of the spirit of enquiry of an inquisitive mind and therefore great impetus was put on specialization and intensive style of studies.

The method of teaching at Nālandā and Valabhi seem to have been tutorial as well as professorial. The former was used at the primary and secondary stages, while the letter prevailed largely at the university level. Under the tutorial system education was imparted through personal instruction, as personal attentions and contact of a teacher with pupil was an indispensable part of it. Right from dawn to dusk the teacher was breathing down the neck of his pupils in order to access and detect his disabilities and defects, and as I-tsing tells us, "when ever he found his pupils faulty he made them seek remedies and repent".[347] Infact at this stage the preceptors were so particular about the studies of his pupils that no one was ever given a new lesson unless the old one was thoroughly mastered.[348] This enabled the more bright students to complete their studies earlier[349] while in case of mediocre students, the teachers took great pains and doggedly persevered in repeating their instructions until they were satisfied about the perfect mastery of the subjects taught. Day in and day out the learning process continued, every minute was a learning experience and every day was the examination day. Thus I-tsing remarks, "he (student) acquires new knowledge day by day and searches into old subjects month after months, without losing a minute."[350]

The *alumni* at the university level being advanced students and monks[351], generally the teachers at these centres lectured to large

groups. As these universities were mainly large brotherhoods of monks, quite naturally they were compelled to go in for congregational education. Thus professorial system was especially suited to the conditions of Buddhist universities. Though a lot of stress was laid on memory training,[352] as we are told that the ultimate ambition of an author was that his book should be memorized by scholars and become, "an ornament on their necks," still the Buddhist education was far from being mere cramming of texts ; reasoning and analysis formed an integral part of it and what the critical Chinese pilgrims Yuan Chwang and I-tsing admired in Indian teachers was not their keen memory which stored numberless texts but the remarkable powers of explanation and exosition[353].

University education was a gift of Buddhism to ancient Indian civilization. A coordination of various studies, missing at the *āśramas* was a notable and novel feature of the *vihāras*. Another arresting feature of their organisation was the egalitarian out look of these centres, as opportunities were made available both to the rich and poor to attend these institutions. Education was imparted free of cost and these inmates were maintained by the state and also received benefactions from the faithful.[354] The net result of this continued royal and other donations, was that the original monasteries went on expanding to such an extent that in course of time they came to consist of a galaxy of buildings to which we may well apply the term university. These universities enjoyed the advantage of a quite atmosphere as the Buddhist monasteries (which later developed into universities), were either independent and self sufficient townships or situated on the out skirts of towns and villages.[355] Yuan Chwang gives a general description of monasteries which reveal that the Buddhist

education centres in general and Nālandā and Valabhi in particular must indeed have been imposing structures with hostels, quarters for the teachers, observatories, gardens etc[355A].

Yet another interesting aspect of the universities was the impressive libraries which were housed in building constructed especially for the purpose. The existence of a library at Valabhi is vouched for in the inscriptions of the Maitrakas which record donations made for the collection of books.[356]

Buddhist monasteries already existed as corporate bodies and when they developed into universities, they naturally became organised corporate educational institutions. In fact, in course of time these Buddhist universities acquired autonomous status. I-tsing records that priest of his days, "submitted to their own laws, without ever giving any trouble to the public court"[357]. The university of Valabhi in western India was a celebrated seat of learning and, Sankalia remarks that it was, "a university whose rise was perhaps contemporaneous with that of Nālandā and whose fame also was not very inferior to it".[358]

The life of students as well as their preceptors was very simple and systematic. A same set of rules and regulations were laid down for the students and the priests. A highly disciplined life was followed at the viharas. Describing Nālandā, Yuan Chwang tells us that, "the rules were severe and the conduct of priests pure and blameless".[359] (a verdict which may also be applicable to Valabhi). The teacher taught the student the rules of etiquette and discipline and draw his particular attention to the vow of chastity, poverty and abstinence from pleasures and help him in his intellectual and spiritual progress.

Apart from the ladies of regal and aristocratic sections of the society, female education was not wide spread among the Buddhist community even though we learn of the existence of special vihāras for nuns[359A].

There was no annual examinations followed by mass promotions and detentions[360]. At the primary and secondary level, the end of the education course was marked by the pupil reciting and explaining the last lesson. But those who had attained scholastic knowledge had to appear a test before they were allowed to go out into the world[361]. They had to face a public examination at which they were required to defend their thesis. I-tsing has further mentioned a very interesting fact about the monastic education of his time. The monks participated in the intellectual contests held at the kings 'house of debate' for the sake of proving their talents in practical administration. Scholars who completed their education at the university of Valabhi used to receive either appointments in government service (apparently to the posts in the executive line), or some financial help to enable to them to start their life[362].

In general education in the Maitraka times stressed the need for infusion of a spirit of piety and formation of character[363] among the students. Routine in students was particularly emphasised and the dialogue method was followed by a lot of teachers. In a nutshell the educational system, as may be vouched from various sources, was characterised during the times by its residential nature, intimate student teacher relationship, profound respect and honour for learned men, existence of learned societies like discussion circles, the role of temples as vehicles of mass education, the two fold method of learning by memorising as well as by reading texts and, female

literacy. Though female education was not totally neglected, with a few exceptions, we do not generally have any literature or inscriptions which refer to any particular school for education of ladies. Perhaps private tutors were appointed for them as women usually received domiciliary education. The period under review may be regarded as an age of critical reflection and specialization and Sanskrit education now acquired the characteristic thoroughness and became ornative as well. Now education aimed not at imparting knowledge of a variety of general subjects but at turning out scholars who were experts in different branches.

This period witnessed the emergence of Valabhi as an esteemed centre of learning. This capital of Maitrakas, was especially renowned as a famous seat for higher studies. In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to form a picture of the institutions of education prevalent at Valabhi.

Education in Arts and Crafts

Professional and vocational education became more and more divorced from literary and cultural education as the latter was imparted through the Sanskrit, which was no longer the *lingua franca* of the masses. Arts and crafts were now regarded as plebeians and boycotted by the higher sections of the society. The training of the non Brahmanas now began to become narrower and more specialised. They started following a number of arts and crafts which now generally became hereditary. Normally parents and guardians used to train their wards in their family professions. An apprentice system[364] of training evolved now, under which a trainee agreed to work under his craft teacher for a fixed period of time[365]. During this period all

the expenses of the pupil connected with the boarding, loading and training were defrayed by his teacher.

Though house hold duties were of supreme concern to women, still finer accomplishments like music both vocal and instrumental, dance and pictorial arts were also highly cultivated in them during their maiden years.[366] In fact there are references to music and art schools for women in the works of contemporary nature[367].

Study of various arts and crafts also formed an integral part of the royal training. The contemporary works show that in addition to the military and physical training and academic attainments, proper attention was paid to the inculcation of music, painting,, drawing, engraving, architecture, carpentry, ivory carving, testing precious stones, antidotes against poisons, magic, interpretation of the omen and other artistic accomplishments, in them[368]. Thus we can see that the Valabhi scholars were maintained by the Maitraka kings, who themselves were very accomplished, enlightened and well educated.

Literature of an age is the fruit of its cultural progress and it is in it that people of the period seek for its most flexible and many sided self expression. Thus Maitrakas, who thrived in an era of cultural refinement, also excelled in this field as great literary activities took shape at Valabhi, the Maitraka capital, in such a congenial environment.[369] As to the language used in literary pursuits, Sanskrit still reigned supreme though vernaculars like Prakrit and Pali also seem to have emerged and competed with Sanskrit[370]. Although, the language of all the Valabhi grants is Sanskrit, it is highly artificial and lacking in real poetic skill. As regards the script of the Maitrakas, it is note worthy that its characters belong to the southern alphabets of the southern variety of Brāhmi as obtained in Kāthiāwāḍ in the fifth and

sixth century A.D. (A comprehensive list of numerals and Alphabets as found in Maitraka Inscriptions and coins has been given in Appendix B. A comparison with various earlier dynasties is also made).

Besides such religious and vocational schools, there were great many rudimentary, secular primary schools, patronised mostly by traders, and to a far lesser degree, by some of the agriculturist classes. These were supported by the villagers themselves and were quite free from state interference. The education imparted in these schools was strictly practical.

A culture must be judged first by its essential spirit, then by its best accomplishment and lastly by its power of survival, revival and adaptation to the new phases of the permanent needs of the race. Judged on these yardsticks the Maitraka cultures should be rated highly.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Sri Aurobindo, *The Foundations of Indian Culture.* Sri Aurobindo Ashram. 1971, p. 2
2. Sri Aurobindo, *The Human Cycle, The Ideal of Human Unity war and self determinations*, Sri Aurobindo Āśhram, 1970, p. 151.
3. *Arthaśāstra*, I, Ch. III, tr. by Shamasastri, R., pp. 6-7; *Manu Smṛti* chapter I, pp. 88-90
4. Watters, T., *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 168; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 82.
5. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 185.
6. *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, III, 414
7. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 845-46.
8. Sankalia, H.D., *AOG*, pp. 205-209.
9. Fleet, *op. cit*, p. 170.
10. Cf, Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pt. I, chapter 3.
11. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, I, Nos. 21, 42, 80, 84.
12. Kane, *op. cit.* I, p 696.
13. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
14. Kane, *op. cit.*, I, p. 698.
15. *ibid*, p. 696
16. Kane, *op. cit*, II, pp. 845-46.
17. For *caste* is a conventional institution while *varṇa* is a symbolic and typal one. It needs to be stressed here that Brāhmaṇa, Kśatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra form statuses and not classes.

Varṇa can be translated as an order or estate, which obscures its identify as class.

18. It has been argued by authors like R.S. Sharma that the notion of class is an integral part of the materialist approach to history. Class is taken to mean such groups of people as either own the means of production or are deprived of these. The mode of production occupies the pivotal positions is this type of materialist explanation of history. (*Material culture and social formations in Ancient India*, 1983, Macmillan India Ltd., p. xvii, 4, 9). But it is also worth remembering that in each case the economic status of a *varṇa* does not approximate to its social and ritualistic status.

19. It is at least doubtful. The brāhmin class at first seems to have exercised all sorts of economic functions and not to have confined them selves to those of the priesthood alone.

20. Majumdar, M.R., *Cultural History of Gujarāt*, chapter I, pt. II-caste, p. 41.

21. Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 109

22. *ibid*, p. 109.

23. Bühler, 'Further Valabhi Grants', *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 9; Ojha, 'Vādnagar Praśati', *EI*, Vol. I, p. 293.

24. *Manu Smṛti*, Chapter X, 75.

25. *IA*, VII, p. 68.

26. *Manu Smṛti*, I, 83-84.

27. *CII*, Vol. III, pp 70-71; Beal, S. *Life of Yuan Chwang*, p. 73. ff.

27A. *Daśakumāracharita*, tr. by Ryder, p. 22.

28. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p. 132.

29. Wenternitz, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 57, 119 ff

30. 'The Jhār grant of Dharasena II of Valabhi', *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 187.

31. Acharya, G.V., 'Anastu Plates of Śilāditya III,' *op. cit.*, Vol. III; *Buddhiprakāśa*, 1941, p. 111 ff.

32. As far as the antiquity or the origin of Nāgaras in Gujarāt is concerned, scholars are not very clear (Enthoven, *Castes and Tribes of Gujarāt*, Vol. I, p. 234). From the terms *śarman*, the Brāhmaṇas of Anandapura mentioned in the Valabhi inscriptions are proved to be Nāgaras. They are supposed to have emigrated to Ānandapura from either Nagar or Ahichhatra (Modern Rāmanagar, U.P.) and first called it Nagar and then Vādnagar. The Vādnagar Praśasti and Sankalia (*AOG*, p. 207) suggest that the Nāgaras, if at all they came from the north, settled down at Vadnagar after the Valabhi period.

33. Bhandarkar, D.R., 'Foreign elements in the Hindu Population', *IA* Vol. XL, 1911, p. 33.

34. *IA*, VII, 1878, pp. 76-79.

34A. Nagendra Nath. Vasu, *The Social history of Kamarupa*, p. 48.

35. Sankalia, H.D. *Studies in Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarāt*, Poona, 1949, pp. 121-122.

36. But during the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., however, *kāyastha* as a caste did not emerge. It was a later development. Vasu, N.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 182.

37. Watters, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 168

38. *Arthaśastra*, I, 3,7.

39. *Manu Smṛti*, I, 89.

40. "The succession of kings is confined to the kśatriyas *(T' Sal-li)* caste who by usurpation and blood shed have from time to time

raised them selves to power", Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 82; Watters, *op. cit.*,Vol I, p. 171.

41. *Manu Smṛti*, I, 155.

42. *Kādambari* of Bāṇabhatta, tr. by Kale, M.R., p. 105.

43. Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 171.

44. *EI*, Vol XII, pp. 65,78.

45. Banerji, R.D., 'The Bhadreniyaka grant of Śilāditya I; G.E. 292', *EI*, Vol XXI, p. 116. ff. In this inscription Kharagraha I, the younger brother of king Śilādilya I and heir apparent, was appointed as *Dutaka*.

46. Fleet. 'Maliya Copper plate Grant of Dharasena II, vs. 252', *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 168. ff. In this epigraph which relates to king Dharasena II of Valabhi, among the ancestors of Dharasena is mentioned one Droṇasiṁha. It is said that this king ruled the land according to the laws and ordinances promulgated by Manu and other sages. This definitely shows the firm hold which the *Dharmaśāstras* of Manu and other lawgivers had on the monarchs of the time. The same tendency is expressed in a still later inscription *ibid.*, (No. 39) of the Maitrakas, which is dated A.D. 766-67. These references lend strong support to the influence of the *Dharmaśāstras* on the character and conduct not only of the king but also of the administration.

47. 'The Walā grant of king Guhasena of Valabhi', *IA* Vol. IV, p. 175.

48. *idem.*

49. The Surya Vaṁsa, the Chandra Vaṁsa and the Agni Vaṁsa.

50. Incidentally, Yuan Chwang while speaking of Dharuvapatta, the fifth Maitraka king, says, "the present king is of the kśatriya caste. (Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 267)
51. *Arthaśāstra* I, 3,7.
52. *Manu Smṛti*, I, 90.
53. Valavalkar, *Hindu Social Institutions*, pp. 299-301.
54. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 82.
55. Legge, J., *Fā-hien's Records of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, Oxford, 1886, p. 43.
56. Gadre, 'Five Valā copper plate grants', *J.U.B.*, Vol. III, p. 79 ; Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, N.S.I., p. 68.
57. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 82-83.
58. Watters, *op. cit.*, p 147 ; Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 82. Earlier Kautilya in *Arthaśāstra* (I, 3, 7) described a śūdra's occupation as 'agriculture, cattle breeding and trade (collectively known as *vārtā*), the profession of artisans and court bards'.
59. *Manu Smṛti*, I, 91.
59A. *Śukraniti*, Verses 66-68.
60. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 147 ; Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 74
61. *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, I, 168.
62. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82
63. Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 209.
64. *idem.*
65. *ibid.*, I, p. 209, II, p. 267
66. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 40.
67. *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, I, 120.
68. Sachau, *Albaruni's India*, Vol. I, p. 101. But other Smṛti writers of the times do not subscribe to this view. Incidentally

the vaiśyas, most of whom were Jains are said to have abandoned the occupation of agriculture because it was believed that the tilling of land resulted in killing of insects which in turn culminated into *himsa*, and himsa was forbidden according to the Jaina tenets, (Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 180.)

69. *Manu Smṛti*, 9, 29 ; Yajnavalkya is also of the same view *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, I, 78.
70. *Kāmasūtra*, 1, 4, 1.
71. *ibid.*, III, 4, 36 ; Bana, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
72. *Kāmasūtra*, 3,1,2.
73. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 123.
74. *idem.*
75. The eight forms were :- *Brahma, Daiva, Ārsha, Prajāpātya Gandharva, Asura, Rākśhasa and Piśacha.*
76. *Nārada Smṛti*, 12,67
77. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168 ; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82.
78. *Haraṣcharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 149.
79. *Kādambari*, tr. by Kale, p. 308.
80. Saletore, R.N., *Life in the Gupta age*, p. 185
81. *EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 116.
82. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 157.
83. *Rājtaraṅgiṇi*, tr. by Stein, M.A., Vol. IV, p. 36
84. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 85-86.
85. *Kādambari*, tr. by Kale, p. 154.
86. *Harṣa charita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 105.
87. *ibid.*, p. 263.
88. *ibid.*, p. 254.
89. *ibid.*, p. 201, 261.

90. *ibid.*, p. 4 ; *Kādambari*, tr. by Ridding, p. 270. Women of higher families were given training in dance and music.
91. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 73
92. *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 337. It seems that the same person is referred to in both the grants with a slight difference in spelling.
93. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 76.
94. *Daśakumāracharita*, tr. by Ryder, p. 159, 164.
95. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 128.
96. Fleet, *C.I.I*, III, p. 18.
97. *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, 2, 47.
98. *ibid.*, II, 135.
99. *ibid.*, II, 124.
100. *ibid.*, II, 135, Bṛahspati and Nārada also hold the same view.
101. *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, 2, 76.
102. *EI* Vol. XI, 1911-12, pp. 174 ff.
103. *JBBRAS (N.S.)*, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 35-37.
104. *Nārada Smṛti*, 13, 38.
104A. 'Palitana Plates of Dhruvasena I, vs. 206', *IA*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 129 ff; 'Maliya Plates of Dharasena II, vs. 252', *IA*, XIII, 1884, p. 160 ff; 'Navalakhi Plates of Śilāditya I, vs. 286', *EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp 174 ff etc.
105. *EI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 18 ff.
106. Cf. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
107. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147 ; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 73.
108. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 225-29.
109. Talking of Valabhi *(FA-LA-PI)*, Yuan Chwang says, " the population is very dense; the establishments rich ; Beal, *op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 266.

110. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147 ; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 73
111. *idem.*
112. *idem.*
113. *idem.*
114. *idem.*
115. *idem.*
116. *idem.*
117. *ibid*, p. 152.
118. Kulmāṣa is a kind of Pulse (उरद की दाल)
119. Takakusu, *I-tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 43.
120. I tsing also mentions it, *op. cit.*, p. 43 It was known by the name of *odan or dhānya.*
121. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 178.
122. About twenty four varities of rice along side twenty one of the inferior kind are mentioned in the *Astānga Saṁgraha*, VII, p. 3-12.
123. Buhler, G., 'Further Valabhi Grants', *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 9-13 ; Also in another inscription it has been mentioned that the Buddhist monks were provided *Piṇda-Pata.* The explanation is that *Pinda* is a ball, i.e. of rice and *pata* is dropping. Hence it means the dropping in of a ball of rice in the Bhikśhus (Monks) bowl. *(IA* Vol. I, p. 45).
124. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 260.
125. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.
126. *Kādambari*, ed. by Parab, K.P., tr. by Ridding, C.M., p. 178.
127. *Harṣhcharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 79.
128. *ibid.*, p. 206.

129. *ibid.*, p. 79.
130. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 178
131. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
132. Bhandarkar, R.G., 'Two copper plates from Valabhi', *IA*, Vol. I, p. 45.
133. *Amarkośa*, Vol. II, 9, 39.
134. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 178.
135. Beal, *op. cit.*,Vol. II, pp. 259, 272.
136. *Harṣhacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 228-29.
137. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 178.
138. Yuan Chwang observed that, "onions and garlic are little used and people who eat them are ostracised," (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 178).
139. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
140. *ibid.*, p. 137.
141. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 117.
142. *ibid.*, I, pp. 177-78.
143. Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260.
144. *ibid*, p. 89.
145. *Daśakumāracharita*, tr. by Ryder, pp. 216-217.
146. *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, XXV, 13, 194.
147. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
148. *ibid.*, p. 178 ; Beal *op. cit.*, p. 88, Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
149. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
150. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 88. It can be assumed that same was the case with students of the university of Valabhi.
151. *Harṣhacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 139.
152. *Kādambari*, tr. by Ridding, p. 15.

153. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 79-80.

154. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

155. The *Mandsore Inscription* (Fleet, *CII.*, Vol. III, 18, p. 81) mentions a phrase, 'like the cheeks of intoxicated women' The *Harṣacharita* also mentions beautiful ladies who drank wine. (Vol. I, p. 82) – tr. by Cowell and Thomas.

156. *Daśakumāra charita*, tr. by Ryder, p. 168.

156A. As mentioned in *Kāmasūtra*, I, 2, 1-3.

157. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 138.

158. *ibid.*, p. 208.

159. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 89.

160. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

161. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

162. *Kādambari*, tr. by Ridding, p. 99.

163. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 200.

164. *Daśakumāracharita*, tr. by Ryder, p. 172.

165. *Kādambari*, tr. by Ridding, p. 15.

166. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

167. *ibid*, p. 24.

168. Motichandra, *Costumes, textiles, Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 54.

169. Yuan Chwang's statement in this connections that Kauseya was produced from wild silk worm, does not seem to be correct, as Kauśeya in *Amarkośa* (II, 6, 111) stands for all types of silk obtained from cocoons, either wild or cultured as stated by Moti Chandra 'The History of Indian Costumes from the 3rd to the

end of the 7th century', (*Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*,Varanasi, Vol. XII, p. 13, *JI SOA* hereafter)

170. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 75.

171. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p.212.

172. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

173. Motichandra, "The History of Costumes from the 3rd to the end of the 7th century A.D. *JISOA* Vol. XII, p. 15

174. *ibid*, p. 9.

175. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 301.

176. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 14.

177. cf. Motichandra, *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 32. This is one of the varieties of cloth which was manufactured in *Aparānta* or western Gujarāt. The material from which it was manufactured is not mentioned.

178. *ibid*, p. 32. *Puṣpapatta* is described as flowered cloth. It was also referred to as *kinkhab* or heavy brocade. Again it is difficult to say whether it was printed, woven or embroidered cloth.

179. *ibid.*, p. 165, *Valā* was the product of Valabhi, the capital of the Maitrakas. There is proof that this kind of cloths was in popular demand even in the Sultanate period.

180. *Anuyogadvara Sūtra*, 37; cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

181. *Amarkośa* prescribes four words for *dhoti* : *antariya, upasamvyana, paridhāna and adhomsuka* (II, 6, 117) also cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 59. And it uses five words for *dupattās* or *chādar*, viz., pravara, uttarasanga, vṛhatika, samvyana and uttariya (II, 6, 117-18).

182. cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, pp. 21, 44

183. Watters, *op. cit.*,I, p. 148 ; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 75.

184. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148.

185. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

186. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 43.

187. Alkazi, Roshan, *Ancient Indian Costume*, The Gupta period, National Book Trust of India, 1993, p. 90.

188. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, (here after *ASI,AR*) 1911-12, pl. XL, II; *ASI,AR*, 1909-10 pl. XXXVIII.

189. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 54. So far as the choice of the colour of clothes is concerned, it seems that men liked white colour while coloured clothes were favourite with women. (cf. Sahay Sachidanand, *Indian Costumes, Coiffure and ornaments*, p. 27.

190. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

191. This proves that different costumes were used by different classes of people on different occasions.

192. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

193. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148.

194. *Ṛtu saṁhāra*, IV, 16, 55 and VI, 8, 61

195. Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 334

196. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

197. *idem.*

198. *ibid*, pp. 59, 78-79.

199. *ibid*, p. 96.

200. Ajantā cave, XVII, cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

201. *Latitavistāra*, p. 312, 1-13 ; cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

202. The three garments were : the *Saṁghati* (a double chādar or a sheet) the *Uttarasanga* (a chādar) and the *Antaravasa* (a dhoti).

203. Besides the three garments I-tsing also mentions the following garments :- *Niśiditan* (a mat), *Nivasana* (an under garment), *Pratinivasana* (another under garment), "*Sankakshika* (probably a showl), *kāyāprochana* (a towel), *mukhaprochana* (a handkerchief to wipe out the face), and the *keśapratigraha* (a cloth used at the time of hair cutting). cf. Motichandra, *Prācina Bhāratiya Veśh Bhūshā.*, IX, p. 175.

204. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

204A. *Mahāvagga*, V, 3, 2.

205. cf. Motichandra, *JISOA* VIII, p. 63.

206. *ibid* p. 120.

207. cf. *ibid*, p. 62. Reference of the use of collyrium can be found in the works of writers of the Gupta age. *Arthaśāstra*, Shamashastry, p. 139; *Kāmasūtra*, I, 4, 8; *Mahāvagga*, VI, 11, 2; *Strabo*, XV.

208. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 16-17. 198.

209. Vātsayana, *Kāmasūtra*, I, 4, 8-16; cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 97.

210. cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 123, Watters, *op. cit.*,I, p. 148.

211. *Haṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 124; cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 129.

212. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 14,127; Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

213. *idem.*

214. Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 151.

215. *Kādambari*, tr. by Ridding, p. 98.

216. While describing the vindhya range, the ointment of a dark blue colour made of pounded aloe-bark is mentioned in a Maitraka grant. Cf. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

217. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

218. Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 151.

219. Fleet, 'The Alina copper plate grant of king Śilāditya VII, dt. A.D. 766-67', *CII*, Vol. III, p. 171.

220. *ibid*, 'The Maliya copper plate grant of king Dharasena II', p. 168; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 42.

221. Bühler, 'Further Valabhi grants', *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 9; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 45.

222. Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 164.

223. *EI*, Vol. I, *The Valabhi grant of king Dhruvasena* III, it is recorded that the tip of his hand is resplendent with rays of jewels which cover his gleaming bracelet. (p. 92); also Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 176, 184 (Dhruvasena III shown as wearing bracelets on his fore arms.

224. *EI* Vol. I, p. 92; Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 175, 183.

225. cf. 'Catalogue of finds from Valabhi (Valā)', in the *Indians History Research Institute Museum* hereafter *IHRIM* (St. Xavier's college), 1939, prepared by Sankalia, H.D., Type, F.C. b. 11.

226. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 96.

227. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 168; cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1215.

228. Virji seems to suggest that an auspicious day was selected for the coronation ceremony, (*AHS*, p. 162). But Sankalia has different views as he tries to prove that no Valabhi grant was

made on a specific occasion and any *tithi* (date) of the month was chosen for a ceremony. (*A. O. G.*, p. 240)

229. Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1218.

230. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 110-11

231. cf. Virji, K.J., *AHS*, p. 163.

232. *Daśakumāracharita*, tr. by Ryder, pp. 216-17.

233. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 174.

234. Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 225.

235. *Kādambari*, translated by Kale, p. 201.

236. *ibid*, p. 91.

237. *Harṣacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 214.

238. As to the informal education, it must be said that it started even before the birth of a child. For, the ancient Hindu education was far more a medium of internal progress them that of material and outward prosperity. Injection and inculcation of good habits was one of the aims of ancient Indian education. The people of those days believed in the fact that bad habits are like soft beds. They are easy to get in but difficult to get out. Thus they prescribed several *saṁskāras* (sacraments) for the removal of these bad habits and even the bad effects of the previous births. Infact the first three *saṁskāras*, viz., *Garbhādhāna*, *Punsavana* and *Simāntonayana* were performed before the birth of a child and were directed towards the attainment of a knowledgeable and intelligent child. *Manu Smṛti*, II, 16, 26, 29; III, 1-4; *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, I, 2. It is worth mentioning here that Abhimanu, (one of the characters in Mahābhārta) learnt about entering a *Chakravūha*, while in the womb of his mother Subhadrā.

239. *Avanti Sundari Kathā*, p. 180-182 ; *Daśakumāracharita*, tr. by Ryder, p. 146.

240. *Avanti Sundari Kathā*, p. 12.

241. Because of this paucity of the material, both Virji, K.J. and Verma, Nita, conclude that no Hindu university existed at Valabhi, as out of the one hundred and twenty odd inscriptions of the Maitraka rulers not a single one is made to the Hindus for educational activities and persuits. This assumption seems to be wrong as it is probable that being a Hindu kingdom the Hindu denizens enjoyed privileges and exalted position and the community had sufficient funds at their disposal and thus never required any financial aid from the royalty in the construction and maintenance of such an institution.

242. Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, tarang 32. Visnudutta was the son of one Vasudatta, and he was just sixteen years old when he went to Valabhi. Virji's view that he went up to Valabhi for persuing higher studies even though a centre like Taxila was nearer to his home (AHS p. 205), seems to be erroneous as Taxila and Valabhi were approximately equidistant from Antarvedi, a place on the banks of the Ganges. (Taxila is at present in Pakistan and is situated in the Northwest frontier Province, about seventy kms. north west of Peshawar). The *Kathāsaritsāgara* also never mentions Taxila in this context. Instead it mentioned Nālandā (which was in Bihar) and Banares as the centres which were in the vicinity of Viṣṇudatta's residence (*tarang 32).* Valabhi is discussed in detail in tarang numbers 22 and 29 of the *Kathāsaritsāgara.* Mean while, the

tarang 32 descibes the coming of Viṣṇudutta to Valabhi as follows.

स विष्णुदत्तो वयसापूर्ण षोऽशवत्सर : |

गन्तुं प्रववृत्ते विद्याप्राप्तये वलभीपुरीम् ||43||

243. Saletore, B.A., *Ancient Karanataka*, Vol. I, pp. 324-25, note I.

244. cf. Moraes, "Notes on the pre-Kadamba history of Goa," *Transactions of the Indian History Congress, Fifth Session.* (Hyderabad), 1941, p. 167.

245. cf. Fleet, *IA*, XII, 1883, p. 160.

246. Gadre, "The Amreli Plates," *Important Inscriptions from the Barodā State*, p. 6 ff.

247. Bühler, 'Grant of Guhasena of Valabhi,' *IA*, IV, p. 174 ff.

248. *idem.*

249. Fleet, 'Alina copper plate Inscription of Śilādityas VII,' *C.I.I*, III, p. 171ff.

250. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. X, p. 66; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 71.

251. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 171 ff.

252. *EI*, Vol.. I, pp. 89 ff.

253. *ibid.*, p. 92.

254. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, p 171ff. (lines 11-12)

254A. e.g., 'Alina Grant of Dharasea II, dated vs. 270, *IA*, VII, 1878, pp. 70-73, – Śilāditya is the scribe; in the 'Valā Copper – plate Grant of Śilāditya I, dated vs. 290, *JUB*, III, 1934-35, pp. 82-85, – prince Kharagraha is described as the dutaka.

255. cf. Diskalkar, "Bhadva copper plates of Dharasena II," *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 33; Acharya *op. cit.*, Vol I, No. 69.

256. Acharya, *op. cit.*,Vol I, No. 26 ; Diskalkar, "Pālitānā plates of Dhruvasena I," *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 112.

257. Bühler, 'Additional Valabhi Grants', *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 68 ; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 55 ; Diskalkar, 'Valabhi Grants', *JBBRAS* (N.S.) Vol. I, p. 28.

258. Fleet *C.I.I.*, III, p. 114 ff.

259. Fleet, 'Maliya Copper plate Inscription of Dharasena II, dt. vs. 252', *CII*, III, p. 165-66, lines 13-15.

260. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 162-165; Mookerji, R.K., *Ancient Indian Education*. Pp. 505-6.

261. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 12, 18; Mazumdar, B.P., *Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, (1030-1194 A.D.), Calcutta, 1960., p. 149.

262. Cf. Altekar, A.S. *Education in Ancient India*, p. 178; Most of the scholars believe that five years was the appropriate age for the initiation to the elementary education. But I-tsing has a different view and he prescribes the age of six as the beginning of the preliminary education. (Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-172)

263. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79.

264. Mookerji, R.K., *op. cit.*, p. 537.

265. Altekar, *op. cit.*, 179.

266. *ibid.* pp., 180-81; *Lalita Vistāra*, Chapter X

267. Majumdar, *A History of Education in Ancient India*, p. 67.

268. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

269. *Manu Smṛti*, II, 36.

270. Ten or eleven years of age was reckoned to be the appropriate age for the commencement of higher education and it was said that a boy who begins his education at a later stage, say at the

age of sixteen was not likely to bring credit to his teachers. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

271. Daṇḍin, *Avanti Sundari Kathā*, (hereafter A.S.K.) pp. 180-82 ; cf. Gupta, D.K., *Society and Culture in the times of Daṇḍin*, p. 366.

272. Yuan Chwang considered the age of thirty years to be ripe to leave the Gurukula, Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 160 (This was especially the case with the brāhmaṇa students)

273. Daṇḍin, *A.S.K.*, p. 195.

274. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 160.

275. cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

276. Upadhyaya, "Education and learning as depicted by Kālidās," *Journal of Benaras Hindu University*, IV, p. 53.

277. *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, I, 10-21, 3.

278. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 20, 223; *Vayu Purana*, I, 61-70; *Raghuvaṁsa*, 5, 21; also Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 170

279. *Kādambari*, tr. by Kale, p. 105.

280. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 182-83.

281. The members of the guild of silk weavers at Mandsor in Mālwā were well versed in folklore and astrology during the fifth century A.D. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 80-87.

281A. *Manu Smṛti*, III, 329-332.

282. cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 182-83. However, contemporary writers had difference of opinion on this issue. Some of them say that female education was not totally neglected and as a necessary qualification to become a bride, some formal education was also imparted to them.

283. *ibid.*, p. 183.

284. *ibid.*, p. 181; he suggests that from about the fifth century A.D. a great impetus was given to higher education by founding of a number of public schools and colleges.

285. *ibid.*, p. 182.

286. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 159-61.

287. Manu tries to make a distinction between the two. According to him the former denoted one who imparted to his pupils the knowledge of the Vedas, the rituals and the Upaniṣhadas, while the latter known as *Upādhyāya* was the one who taught a protion of the Vedas or the Vedāngas for monetary gains. *(Manu Smṛti*, II, 140-41)

288. From now on it was deemed absolutely necessary to prepare manuscripts of the Jaina canonical literature and the practice of transmitting learning from generation to generation orally was discontinued. This redaction into writing is technically termed as *pustakārohaṇa* of the Jaina Agamas Munsi, *Gujarāt and its literature*, p. 31.

289. All of these along with their works have been discussed in detail in the chapter on 'Religion'– the Jaina portion.

290. *Śatrunjaya Mahātmaya* of Dhaneśvara Sūri, tr. by Prabhu Das Popatlal, p. 769.

291. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 235-36.

292. Das Gupta, *Jaina System of Education*, p. 2, 12, 13, 16, 53.

293. *ibid.*, p. 4.

294. *ibid.*, p. 15. It must, however, be noted that no royal grant of the Maitrakas, endowed either in cash or kind to the Jaina institutions, has come down to us.

295. Cf. Kapadia, "The Jaina system of Education," *J.U.B.*, VIII, pp. 210-11.

296. *idem.*

297. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

298. *Rayapāseniya sutta*, S. 77, para 33 of Paesiteahaṇiya in Vaidya, pp. 101-120.

298A. *ibid.*, pp. 67-70

299. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

300. *idem.*

301. Majumdar, M.R., *C.H.G.*, p. 348.

302. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 198

303. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 3, 22

304. *ibid.*, p. 25 ff.

305. *idem.*

305A. It catered to the needs of all types of students in the different grades of life – *Prabandhakośa* of Rajaśekharasūri, I, (Singhi Jain Series), p. 28

305B. *ibid.*, I, p. 112.

306. Virji, *AHS*, p. 214.

307. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*,pp. 3, 118.

307A. *Kundakudaca Pravaćanasāra*, verse 47.

308. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

309. Virji, *A.H.S.*, p. 215 ; Mayer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 44

310. *Kundakudaca Pravaćanasāra*, p. 8; Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

311. *Ditthivaya*, the twelfth *anga* and the satisaya ajjayānas such as Uttanasuya, Mahāparinna, Arunovavaya etc. were exclusively reserved for the study of male Jaina students Kapadia, *op. cit.*,

p. 238; *Tattavanirṇayaprasada* of Vijjayananda Sūri, pp. 412-413.

312. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 118 ; Kapadia, *op. cit.*, oo, 210-11

313. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 118.

314. *Hemchandra Sūri's Commentary on Viśeṣa*, Verse 7.

315. *Śilanka Sūri's Commentary on Viśeṣa*, Verse 7; *Kapadia, op. cit.*, p. 205.

316. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161 ; Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp., 2, 25, 38

317. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

318. Infact Mālla (a Jaina) defeated Buddhananda (a Buddhist) in a literary affray and the contest was presided over by king Śilāditya. On winning Mālla was conferred the title of *Vadin* by the king. *Prabahdachintāmṇi* of Merutunga Āchārya, tr. by Tawney, C.H., pp. 170-172.

319. Names of about fifteen *vihāras* (monasteries) may be gathered from the copper plate endowments of the Maitraka rulers. This list includes separate *viharas* for *bhikśhuṇis* (Buddhist nuns). Please see Appendix A for details.

320. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246.

321. Beal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 266-268. Infact Guṇamati was a native of Valabhi and one of his disciples. Vasumitra, wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's work *Abhidharmmakośa* (an introduction to Mahāyāna) Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 268.

322. Yuan Chwang also refers to the monks from foreign countries and belonging to the Hinayāna sect. (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 267 notes). This is also evident from the expressions such as *'Nanadeś– asamatvagatarthya bhikśusanghasya'* and

'*Aṣṭadasanikyabhyanta-raryyabhikśuanghasya*' which occur in the land grants, cf. Bhandarkar, 'A Valabhi Grant', *IA* I, 1875, p. 14 ff.

323. *IA*, IV, p. 106.

324. 'The Grant of Guhasena', *IA*, V, p. 206.

325. *IA*, VI, pp. 9-10.

326. *ibid.*, I, p. 45 (Bhāvnagar plate of Dharasena IV)

327. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161.

328. The term 'others' here means junior students. The active help and co-operation of advanced students were enlisted at the university level, in order to make personal attention possible. At Valabhi University, the obvious disadvantages inherent in the professorial system of education were sought to be redressed by placing groups of younger scholars under senior fellows. This is also hinted by Yuan Chwang in connection with the studies at Nālandā, as he avers, "the young and the old mutually help one another," (Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 70). Another instance in point is the story of Vararuchi and his class mates which shows that Indradatta learnt the science of yoga from Vijadi, his class fellow (Daṇḍin's *Avanti Sundari Kathā*, p. 183). This particular method of teaching greatly helped in developing in the young students the power of retention and it benefited both the intelligent and the mediocre pupils as it made teaching more intimate and effective. This system of entrusting a part of the teaching work to brilliant and competent students had a great educational value as well. It placed a high incentive before the students. Apart from training the intelligent students in the art of teaching and maturing their mind and thus

dispensing with the need of any teachers training colleges, this peculiar method, increased the efficiency and decreased the cost of education by rendering individual attention possible and by affording intelligent and free assistance to the teacher. Andrew Bell and Lancaster both of whom saw it actually working at Madras, had it introduced in England and it became famous under the name of *Monitorial System*. (cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 273, 430 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 68)

329. Takakusu, *I-tsing, Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 177.

330. *idem.*

331. *ibid*, pp. 176-77.

332. Yuan Chwang refers to one *Pindaćārika*, a famous scholar, who flourished in the days of king Śilāditya. (Beal, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 266-68). The author of *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-Mūla Kalpa* (hereafter AMMK) also mentions him. (cf. Jayaswal, *op.cit.*, (35 Patala), p. 43).

333. This is clear from the use by Yuan Chwang of the words, 'other quarters' and 'strangers'. (Beal, *op.cit.*, p. 171).

334. This test was very difficult, and it was taken by a *dwārapaṇḍita* (the keeper of the gates) who guarded the way to the higher university studies. (Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 171-72)

335. It is worth mentioning here that 'opportunity to attend the university' merely meant eligibility to appear in the entrance examination and by no means it guaranteed a final selection for studying in these reputed universities. It was only in this regards that a distinction was made between the native and the alien students. Consequently, the universities made no difference between these two types of scholars, as regards the

minimum qualifications and whoever passed the entrance examination was permitted to study in these institutes. (Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 170-171.

335A. Watters., *op. cit.*, II, p. 246.

336. Beal, *op.cit.*, II, p. 171. Of course, Yuan Chwang is here talking about the Nālandā University

337. Watters, *op.cit.*, I, p. 154.

338. *ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

339. This was probably the same as *Siddhir-astu* mentioned by Yuan Chwang. Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 78.

340. Takakusu, *op.cit.*, pp. 171-72.

341. *ibid.*, pp. 172-75.

342. Said to be one of the best commentaries on Pāṇini's work. It exposes the laws of universe and the regulations of gods and men. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

343. Takakusu, *op.cit.*, p. 175.

344. Beal, (Hwui Li), *Life of Hieun Tsiang*, pp. 112, 153.

344A. *ibid*, p. 112.

345. *ibid*, p. xxix.

345A. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

346. Advance studies at post graduation level took almost three years for completion and students completing this advance study were regarded as masters of grammatical science and earned the title of *Bahuśruta* ("much heard" or "knowing much of the śruti") Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

347. Takakusu, *op.cit.*, p. 120.

348. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 272.

349. This was just like the modern fast track courses for advance students.

350. Takakusu, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

351. Before the fifth century A.D. education was imparted exclusively to the monks in the Buddhist monasteries. As these *viharas* were converted into public schools or universities, the laity and others were also allowed to receive studies, at these centres. The students thus admitted were divided into two broad categories, viz., the *Siddhivihārikas* and the *Upāsakas*. This categorisation was based on the educational aims of these students. *Siddhivihārikas* were those monks (*bhikśhus*) who studied the Buddhist *granthas* in order to attain spiritual refinement and salvation. They took the *dikśā* (initiation) in the religion. The *Upāsakas* were further subdivided into two categories, namely, the *mānavas* and the *Brahmachārins*. The former were those students who studied the Buddhist scripture in order to become monks in future, while the latter were those who did not want to become monks and generally studied secular subjects. – Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

352. Memorization was an integral part of Buddhist education and I-tsing observed that after, "a practice of ten day or a month, a student feels his thoughts rise like a fountain, and can commit to memory whatever he had heard but once," and he further says, "this is not a myth, for I myself have met such men". - Takakusu, *op.cit.*, p. 183. Learning had to be at the tip of one's tongue and a scholar who consulted notes or books in discourse, generally cut a sorry figure - cf. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 271.

353. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 233.

354. Beal, *op.cit.*, II, p. 113.

355. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 232.

355A. Beal, (Hwui Li), *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, pp. 111-112; also *Cullavagga*, VI, 3, 5, 6.

356. 'A Grant of Mahārāja Guhasena', - for the acquisition of books of the holy faith (Saddharmasya pustakopakra...) - *I.A*, Vol. VII, 1878, p. 67 ff.

357. Takakusu, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

358. Sankalia, H.D., *AOG*, p. 179.

359. Beal, *op.cit.*, II, p. 170.

359A. e.g., The Yakśa Sura Vihāra, Gadre, A.S., 'Five Valā Plates' *JUB*, III, p. 82

360. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 272.

361. Dikshitar, V.R.R., I-tsing's India (Introductory), *Indian Historical Quarterly* (hereafter *I.H.Q.*), Vol. XXIII, p. 9.

362. Takakusu, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

363. Speaking of Indian character as a whole, Yuan Chwang says that, 'they are of hasty and irresolute temperament but of pure moral principles', and further, ... 'They do not practice deceit and they keep their sworn obligations' (Watters, *op.cit.*, p. 121).

364. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 276.

365. This fixed period of years was generally longer than the period required to master the craft thoroughly. In course of time the apprentice gained expertise in the craft and was deemed fit to carry on jobs either in cooperation of his teacher or even independently. Under this system the student had to, however,

surrender al his earnings to his master till the end of the agreed period (cf. *ibid*, p. 276; *Nārada Smṛti*, 5, 16-17).

366. Knowledge of these arts was regarded as necessary qualification to become a good bride. *Kāmasūtra*, I, 3, 16.

367. Mookerjee, R.K., *Harṣha*, p. 176.

368. *Kādambari*, translated by Kale, p. 105.

369. The literary exploits of the Maitrakas, has been dealt in great detail in the chapters on Source material as well as in the one pertaining to the religious history of the Maitrakas.

370. Based on the use of an incorrect phrase in a grant of king Dharasena I. Buhler suggests that the writer habitually spoke Prakrit and possessed but an imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. This also shows that Sanskrit no longer remained the *lingua-franca* and languages like Prākrit now became popular with the masses.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MAITRAKAS

An efficient administrative set up is a *sine qua non* for any flourishing empire. Without proper ramifications, divisions and sub divisions of an administration no empire or dynasty can think of surviving. The glory of the administrative set up is neither in eulogising the emperor, nor in window dressing of the whole state of affairs. It lies in the proper delegation of authority, prudent channelisation, smooth inflow and out flow of information and the perfect fixation of accountability and responsibility. Above all, while managing the state due consideration should be given to the *vox populi.*

We know that the Maitrakas flourished in western India for the better part of three centuries. It is therefore, quite natural for us to believe, that they were bestowed with a sound administrative set up. But due to the lack of any systematic record or elaborate information, an exact idea of the administrative system as prevalent in the Maitraka dominions, is quite difficult. Though the epigraphic records of the Maitrakas together with that of their predecessors and successors throw some light on the general administration of the times, the data is often confusing and occasionally contradictory, especially when it comes to specifying the area of a particular administrative unit. Again the determination of the hierarchy and relation of one administrative post *vis a vis* another is rendered almost impossible.

The Gupta empire remained at the pinnacle of its glory from the latter part of the third century A.D. to the mid of the fifth century A.D. We know that the Guptan administrative norms served as the basis for

the administrative systems of the dynasties in the post Gupta era. Thus the Maitrakas, who sprang up in Gujarāt in the above mentioned period, owe a lot in the field of administration to the Guptas. Apart from the Guptas, the administrative organisation of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kśatrapas also seem to have influenced the Maitraka political thought. The impact of the contemporaries of the Maitrakas in this field is also worth remembering. Of course, the age old usages, customs and traditions played their part too.

While all these factors went a long way towards the formulation of the Maitraka administration, the impact of the alien influence cannot be overemphasized. In due course the Maitrakas developed a system of their own, which was indigenous and was conspicuous by the absence of any foreign impact.

The Maitraka administration was formulated on the basis of ancient Hindu ideals. The orthodox Hindu convention of an absolute ruler (a *sarva bhaūma* or a *chakravartin*) came to be established in the then political thought of India. Thus, just like their more famous predecessors, the Guptas, the Maitraka kings also claimed some sort of divinity. This tenet of the divine origin, as assigned to these sovereigns, not only provided them with the most esteemed and exalted position in the society but also made their authority in their dominions, unsurmountable and ultimate. Again and again we come across royal epithets in the Maitraka inscriptions, which equate the king with the gods. Thus, king Guhasena is compared to Lord *Samara* (*Kāma* or *Cupid*) in beauty; *Chandra deva* (Moon) in lusture; Lord *Himālaya* (King of Mountains) in stability; *Samudra deva* (ocean) in profundity and deepness; Lord *Brihaspati* (preceptor of the gods and the creator of the universe) in knowledge and wisdom; and

Lord *Kubera* (Dhaneśa) in wealth[1]. King Droṇasiṁha is compared and contrasted with *Dharmarāja* or *Yudhiṣṭhira* (incarnation of Law)[2]; Śilāditya I with Lord *Indra*[3]; Kharagraha I and Kharagraha II with lord *Upendra* (*Viṣṇu*)[4] and Śilāditya III with Lord *Kārtikeya* (son of Śiva)[5], respectively in the Valabhi inscriptions. This, *ipso facto* made the king the *de jure* as well as the *de facto* ruler of his kingdom.

However, ancient Indian polity devised some measures against the possible abuse of the Kings absolute power. It seems that fetters were put on his authority by the ancient customs, traditions, usages and the injunctions of the *Smṛits*, in accordance with which, he generally used to rule. That the Maitraka rulers followed, perhaps, the rules laid down in the law books can be deduced from a lot of references of such nature in their inscriptions. In the Maliya copper plate of Dharasena II for instance, king Droṇasiṁha is spoken off as a ruler who adhered to the path of the maintenance of perfect justness and had as his law the rules and ordinances promulgated by Manu and other sages.[6] The same record describes Guhasena, a famous ruler of the Maitraka line, as one whose title of *rājan* was befitting, as he had pleased the hearts of his subjects by properly protecting them according to the rules prescribed in the *Smṛtis*[7]. Numerous other references of similar kind are available in the records of the dynasty. But this theory has been despised on the ground that the above mentioned description was nothing more than a kingly vaunt and the epithets such as 'pious', 'religious' and 'follower of the *Smṛtis*' were merely eulogistic in intent and purpose or simply conventional.

The Maitraka kingship was patriarchal[8] and the succession to the throne was generally hereditary. But the right of primogeniture was not always observed in the Maitraka period. The pattern of

succession of the Maitraka kings suggests that they had a tradition that the *anuja*, i.e., the younger brother of the king, should have precedence over his son. Thus all the elder sons of Bhatārka were in turn succeeded by their younger brothers instead of their sons[9]. Dharasena I was succeeded by Droṇasiṁha, who was followed by Dhruvasena I, who intern was followed by Dharapatta. Śilāditya I too was succeeded by his *anuja*, Kharagaha I. This act of younger brother succeeding the elder brother is described by Kharagraha as an act of obedience to the will of his elder brother. This possibly suggests that Śilāditya I himself had appointed his *anuja* to be his successor. The phrase *tat-pāda-ānudyataḥ**, used in the epigraphs by each succeeding king for his immediate predecessor also signifies that each ruler naturally showed reverence to his elder brother who selected him to be the next king.

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* The term occurs in the Maitraka epigraphs (e.g. 'The Maliya Copper Plate Inscription of Dharasena II, of the year 252', *I.A.*, XIII, p. 160 ff; *CII*, III, p. 164 ff, Plate I, verse 10 : 'Alina copper plate inscription of Śilāditya VII, of the year 447, *IA*, VII, p. 79 ff, *CII*, III, p. 171 ff, plate I, verses 10, 14, 19, 20, 23 etc.). The terms *tat* (his), *pāda* (feet) and *ānudhyatah* (to meditate derived from *anu dhyāna* meaning meditation or religious contemplation-Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 33), collectively mean 'meditation on the feet or favoured by the feet of. *Tat pāda ānudhyatah* is a customary technical expression used for the relations of a feudatory chieftain to his paramount sovereign; of a successor to his predecessor, (used in connection of kingly successions), whether by the natural relation ship of son to his parents, or of a nephew to his uncle, or of a grandson to his grand father, or a younger brother to his elder brother. Sometimes the term is also used in respect of the worship of gods, (eg. In the grant of the Eastern Chālukya King Amma II – *IA*, XIII, p. 249, line 3, the Chālukyas are described as meditating on the feet of the god Svāmi- Mahāsena). The Gupta epigraphs use the expression in context of the relations between a paramount lord and his feudatory chiefs (e.g. the Allāhabād Posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, verse 33; *JASB*, III, p. 118 ff; and the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandra gupta II, *CII*, III, pp. 21-24, plate II B); and in connection with the natural kingly succession of fathers and sons (eg. In the Bihār stone pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta, *JASB*, VIII, p. 347 ff and *CII*, III, Plate VI B, p. 47-51, there occurs a verse (no. 22) *utpannah paramabhāgavato mahārājadhirāja Śri kumāra guptas [tasya] puttras tat pād ānudhyatah* which clearly indicate that Skanda gupta meditated on the feet of his father kumāra gupta). But curiously enough the Maitrakas use the expression in connection of elder and younger brothers (as seen from above).

But some times disputes arose between the brothers as well, on the issue of succession. From the epigraphic evidences it appears that Kharagraha II took the kingdom by force from his younger brother Dhruvasena III. This is deduced from the fact that the former accorded little respect to the letter in his epigraphs[10]. Same probably was the case with Karagraha I and Śilāditya I[11]. On the basis of the latter's Bhadreniyaka grant[12] in which the two brothers are compared with Indra and Upendra, and in which contrary to common practice, Śilāditya's own son Derabhatta does not appear as *dutaka*, it is rightly surmised that a clash occurred between the two brother and Śilāditya I had to concede a considerable portion of his domains to his younger brother Kharagraha[13]. The Valabhi kingdom was split into north and south, Silāditya retaining Mo-la-po (Mālwā) with its dependencies, and Kharagraha occupying the northern portions of the empire. This *inter alia* indicates the existence of some sort of *dvai rājya* (dyarchy) or the duel form of government,[14] where by the Śaka-Pārthian system of joint rule was adopted with modification by the Maitrakas. Finally, if we treat Viṣṇusena to be actually belonging to the Maitraka dynasty, then we find that he ruled in juxtaposition with both Dharasena II and Śilāditya I.[15]

Apart from these occasional feuds and quarrels, the authority of the king was virtually unchallengable in his dominions. He was the fountain head of all the important establishments and departments. He occupied the first place in the kingdom by exercising the supreme authority not only in political but in religious and legal matters as well. The king was the chief executive, legislative, military and judicial officer of the empire. Being the sovereign lord of the state, all land was vested in him and he could make gifts of it to whom so ever

he wished. He ordered the construction of monasteries and temples, commanded officers and cultivators regarding grants[16] and imposed, recovered and remitted taxes. The Maitraka inscriptions reveal that how Dhruvasena III levied 'according to proper custom taxes from his enemy lands',[17] while king Dharasena IV 'intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes'.[18] In fact, out of the seven *prakṛtis*[19] of the *rājya*, on which was based the administrative machinery itself, the *Svāmin* or the king, is invariably depicted in the records as the supreme lord enjoying unlimited powers.

Despite these above mentioned elements attributed to the Maitraka king it would be *reductio ad absurdum* to envision him as a despot. Theoretically he worked under the obligations of observing the rules laid down by the Dharmaśāstras. In practice the Brāhmaṇas, who acted as the chief custodians and interpreters of these laws exercised a great check on the pelf and power of the royalty. The king had to further share power with the guilds and corporate bodies, whose decisions he had to accept and whose usages he had to enforce[20]. Above all, the king had to reckon with the beneficiaries[21] and the feudatories who enjoyed enormous powers. In fact the sovereign's powers were more circumscribed in the Maitraka period than in the earlier times.

But even in these times characterised by the rise of centrifugal forces and decentralisation of royal powers, the Maitraka state, it seems, maintained some sort of constitutional monarchy in the modern parlance. The rule was unitary but not arbitrary. Though in all appearance, king was almost an autocratic ruler, in reality his paraphernalia in the form of various ministers, called by different names such as *mantrin*, *amātya* or *sachiva* may have exercised

restraint on his activities although inscriptions give little idea of their functions and no idea of their corporate existence.#

The *Smṛtis* tell us that it was the ruler's duty to select his officials and ministers, who assisted him in the work of government. In the selection, the king had to vouch especially for their ability, wisdom and the family to which they belonged[22]. Further it was seen that they were well versed in the *Nitiśāstras* and possess all the qualities to win the trust of their sovereigns and affection of the people. Finally, they should possess complete information about the country and the times and should be native of the land.

The king shared power with his ministers and other high officers who, though not theoretically responsible to the people, were expected to control the king, if he was acting against the established laws and customs. During the Maitraka epoch the offices of these ministers became hereditary[23]. The traces of such hereditary appointments are frequently met with in the administrative pattern of

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In the wake of lack of information regarding the status and duties of the *mantriṁ, amāṭya* and the *sachiva*, in the Maitraka inscriptions, we have to fall back on the ancient Indian texts to form an idea of their functions. Curiously enough, the ancient Indian Jurists were divided in their opinion on the issue. While some treated the three as synonymous, others thought that they were different. Manu equated *sachiva* (*ManuSmṛti* VII. 54) and *amāṭya* (VII. 60). Others, however differentiated between the three. *Sukraniti* regarded *sachiv* (II. 94), *amāṭya* (II. 103-106) and *mantrin* (II. 95) respectively as army ministers, revenue ministers and the chief counsellors. Kamaṇdaka (*Nitisāra*, IV. 24-30) attests to greater importance of a *mantrin* in comparison to an *amaṭya*. Kautilya (*Arthaśāstra*, I. 5-6) suggests that *amāṭyas* constituted a regular cadre of service from which all high officers were to be recruited. He regarded the *mantrin* as of higher grade than the *amāṭya* (*Arthaśāstra*, I. 15). This is deduced from the fact that he recommends the assistance of three or four *mantrins* but states that the number of *amāṭyas* should depend upon the capacity to employ them (*Arthaśāstra* I. 8). According to Spellman, J., probably the *mantri* was the highest official followed in descending order by the *amāṭya* and *sachiva* (*Political theory of Ancient India*, p. 79). Thus it seems that ministers were divided into two classes, viz., the *amaṭyas* and the *mantrins*. Etymologically *amāṭya* and *sachiva* mean associate and companion, and *mantrin* means one who is concerned with *mantra* or secret counsel. Incidentally, the *Arthaśāstra* (I. 10) suggests that the *amāṭya* should be tested as to *Dharma, Artha, Kāma* and *Bhaya* by means of *upadhā* i.e. the testing of the mind.

the Valabhi rulers. For instance, the Chief Secretary (*divirapati*), Anahila was the son of the chief Secretary. Skandabhatta[24], who was charged with peace and war (*Sandhivigrahika*).

We came across an exhaustive list of royal functionaries in the epigraphical records of the Maitraka dynasty. The officers concerned with the proper execution of the grant are mentioned in a general way as *Sarvān yathā sambadhyamān kānū* (सर्वान यथा संबध्यमानकानू) in the Virdi copper plates of Kharagraha I dated, Vs. 279 or 616 A.D.[25] The officers[26] seem to have been listed in the order of their importance in the official cadres. These offices were (1) the *rājaputra, (2)* the *rājasthāniya, (3) the rājamātya or the Kumāramātya, (4) theViśyapati, (5) the drangika, (6) the Bhogādhikaraṇika, (7) the Sthānādhikaraṇika, (8) the Dhruvādhikaraṇika, (9) the Daṇḍabhogika, (10) the Daṇḍapāśika, (11) the Dasapardhika, (12) the avalokika, (13) the vartmapala or the Vartamanapala, (14) the Chourodhāraṇika, (15) the pratisāraka, (16) the pramatara or the pramatari, (17) the Āyuktaka, (18) the Viniyuktaka, (19) the śaulkika, (20) the anutpanna samudgrāhaka, (21) the mahā sandhivigrahika, (22) the Balādhikṛta or the Mahāsenāpati, (23) the Chāṭa or ćaṭa, (24) the bhata, (25) the kāṭhebhārika, (26) the Dūtaka, (27) the Mahākśapatālika, (28) the mahāpratihāra, (29) the divira or divirapati, (30) the mahāsāmanta, (31) the hastyaśvarohas, (32) the grāmakuta, and (33) the Mahattara.* This hierarchy of officers was in all probability adopted by the Maitrakas with very few modifications from their predecessors the Guptas.

These officers give us a detailed picture of Valabhi administrative set up. The territorial administration seems to have

been carried out by the first seven officers. Officers numbers (7) to (16) between them, perhaps, discharged the functions of judiciary and police. Revenue and finance department were constituted, probably by Nos. (17) to (20) and Military department by Nos. (21) to (25) and perhaps No (31), Nos. (26) to (29) were mainly concerned with the accounts maintaining and clerical activities. No. (30) was a feudatory while Nos. (32) and (33) were related to village administration.

As regards the individual functions of each particular post, it must be said that the *rājaputra* was the heir apparent or the Prince. The term occurs frequently in the Valabhi epigraphs. For instance, in a grant of king Dhruvasena II, Kharagraha, is depicted as the *rājaputra.*[27] It seems the post was second in importance, only to that of the king. The prince who was of royal blood, helped the king in the overall administration of the state.

The official title *Rājasthāniya* literally means, 'one who belongs to *Rājasthāna* or kings abode,' or perhaps one who occupies the position of a *rājan*[28]. Kśemendra in his *Loka prakāśa* IV explains the term as प्रजापालनार्थं उद्वहति रक्षयति च स राजस्थानीय, i.e., a state officer who carries the burden of protecting and promoting the welfare of the subjects[29]. Diskalkar interprets the expression as meaning a state officer over a district or province[30]. Bhagvānal Indrāji means by the term, *rājasthāniya*, the foreign secretary, the officer who had to do with other states and Kingdoms (Rājasthāna)[31]. Some authorities take it to mean viceroy[32]. But in the Maliya grant of Dharasena II, the term is used to denote a lower official.[Ψ] Evidently it can only mean a

[Ψ] The Pālitānā plates of Śilāditya (A.D. 574) however mention an officer called *rājasthāniya* immediately after *rājaputra* and before *amātya*. This shows that he was a superior officer in the later Maitraka times.

political agent or regent[33]. Etymologically however it seems that *Rājasthāniya* was an officer who assumed the powers of a king in the latter's absence, and worked in a king's capacity (राज + स्थानीय), i.e., in the place of the Rājā. The *rājamātya*[34] was supposed to be the king's counsellor. Occasionally, the term is equated to *Kumāramātya* which is usually interpreted to mean the minister of the crown prince[35]. *Kumāramātya* was an executive officer in Gupta period, connected with central as well as local administration. Marshall considers him to be a councillor of the hair apparent. T. Bloach takes the term to mean the prince's minister[36] and the one who has been in the service of the king from the time when he was a boy.[37] R.C. Majumdār[38] opines that the term was a generic name of a class of officers either under the king or the crown prince. On the other hand, R.D. Banerjee believes that *Kumāramātyas* were equal in rank to the princes of the royal blood or to the heir of the emperor[39]. Again, Bhandkāmkar[40] thinks that the word denotes the princes of the royal blood who formed a council and were consulted by the ruling chiefs on issues of imperial importance. Dikshitār[41] and Majumdār[42] take the term to mean a class of officers, belonging to a particular cadre, and functioning in different capacities in different circumstances like the I.C.S. or I.A.S. officers of today. As to the reference to the office of *kumāramātya* in the charters of Maitraka kings[43] it usually figures in plural, and it occupies the last place among officers to whom the grant is addressed. This may suggest the lower status of this office under the Maitrakas. However, there charters do not give the meaning of the term. We may assume that it meant a counsellor of a prince. Further, he probably acted as a guardian or companion of the prince[44].

Overall, it seems that *Kumāramātya* was an officer who was attached to the prince (कुमार : + अमात्य) .

The *Viśyapati*, as the name suggests was the head of a *viśya*. The official is equated to the divisional lord; the division probably corresponding to the present *Subāh*[45]. Sircar mentions *viśyapati* as the governor of a district[46]. But in the vala grant of Dharasena II of Valabhi, this officer is placed immediately after the *dhruvādhikaraṇika* and before the *rājasthānīya*[47]. Now, the *dhruvādhikaraṇika* could not have a higher status than *viśyapati*. Thus it is difficult to ascertain the administrative rank to which the *viśyapati* of Maitraka times belonged.

The *drangika* has been interpreted differently. R.C. Majumdar thinks that *Drangikas* were the octroi officers[48]. According to *Rājatrañgiṇī*,[49] *dranga* is used in the sense of a 'watch station' and on this basis Maity suggested that *udranga* of the inscriptions was some kind of police tax.[50] If this view is accepted *drangika* would mean a collector of the tax known as *udranga*. D.C. Sircar interprets the term as meaning a watch station or a station for the collection of revenue[51]. But the term *drangika* also admits of another explanation. Monier Williams interprets *dranga* as a town or city[52]. Thus Buhler perhaps rightly, translates *drangika* as 'the head of town'.[53] Besides, an inscription of Guhasena records the grant of three villages situated in Mandali *dranga* which shows that in this case *dranga* means territorial unit[54] and not a watch station. This unit was probably a town or a township which formed the headquarters of several villages[55]. However, the word *dranga* also means frontier outposts, and on this basis G.P. Sinha, thinks that *drangika* therefore denotes an

officer in charge of frontier outpost, a warden of the marches[56]. However in general *drangika* denotes an the chief of a city or town.

The *Bhogādhikaraṇika* or *bhogika*[57] has been taken to mean an official connected with territorial units *bhoga* and *bhukti*. Thus *bhogika* in the opinion of Fleet was a provincial governor.[58] Sankalia also mentions him to be the officer in charge of a *bhoga*.[59] While the *Bombay Gazetteer*, takes it to mean a collector of the *Bhoga*[60], i.e., the state share of the land produce taken in kind, which was as a rule one sixth. The position of a *Bhogika* was considered to be higher than that of *Viśyapati* and lower than that of a *Sāmanta*[61], who was the minister incharge of the province. But on the face of it, the term denotes an officer connected with the collection of land revenue.

The word *dhruva* means fixed, firm, certain etc. The expression *Dhuvādhikaraṇika* has been explained by Fleet as one who has the superintendence of the *dhruvas*[62]. Therefore, in context of land grants, the term is taken to mean the superintendent of the collection of royal share of the produce in grain or collectors of fixed revenue.[63] In this sense the term seems to be directly connected with revenue administration. Some Maitraka epigraphs use the expression *dhuvāsthāndhikarṇika*[64] in the place of *dhruvādhikaranika*. But according to Bühler both the terms were different. In his opinion the former term consists of two distinct titles, *sthāndhikaraṇika* of the compound corresponding to the *thānādārs* of the modern days, who in Kāthiāwāḍ and Rājputānā combined police and magisterial functions recently. Moreover, the term *dhruvādhikaraṇika* also means literally, faithful Judges.[65]

The Walā plates of Guhasena (A.D. 566), refers to *dandabhogika*[66] which just like the *dandapāśika* is taken to mean

officer in charge of criminal justice. But from the same record we can infer that the term may also mean a police officer or a thief catcher and probably an official of low rank.[67] Sankalia also explains the term as the police chief.[68] *Dandapāśika*[69] is an official of similar nature and Monier Williams explained it as meaning 'one who holds the fetters or noose of punishment; a police man'.[70] Some scholars aver that it was used both for the head police officer and the hangman or the executioner.[71] But the Pālitānā plate of Dharasena II[72] and the Valabhi grant of the same ruler[73] refer to this officer as the incharge of punishment and criminal justice. Thus, in all probability *Dandapāśika* appear to be a police of Judicial officer who imparted punishment to the guilty.

The term *Dasaprādhika* is found in a few Maitraka records[74] and Sankalia infers that it means an officer who took cognizance of ten faults, and was comparable to a 'Justice of peace'[75]. The meaning of the term *avalokika*[76] in not clear and it may be presumed that he was some one like an overseer who helped and assisted the other officers in managing the general administration.

The *Vartmapala* or the *Vartamanapāla*[77] has been taken to be incharge of a tax known as *vārtam*, probably identical with *vārtani* (a road cess), of the Arthaśāstra.[78] Bhagwānlāl Indrāji describes *vartmapāla* as the road watch, often mounted and stationed in *thānās* or small road side sheds.[79] Sankalia treats it as the guardian of roads.[80] The *Chaurodharaṇika*[81] has been described as the uprooter of thieves or a police man[82] He was the highest officer concerned with the apprehension of thieves and robbers. Bhagwānlāl Indrāji also explains *chaurodharaṇika* as a thief catcher.[83] M.R. Majumdār futher states that *Chaurodharaṇika* was a police officer of about hundred

villages or rather of the *viśya* or tākuka[84]. Though most scholars believe *chaurodharaṇika* as a thief catcher on the basis of the root *chaura* (चौर) meaning there by thievish, e.g., Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 403; the same root could be taken to mean a whisk (चँवर) and thus the officer could mean the incharge of a set of officials who used to provide comfort to the king. (चँवर डुलाने वाले or whisk bearer)

The office of *pratisāraka*[85] is explained as perhaps connoting secret police[86]. On the contrary the *Bombay Gazateer*[87] defines the term as patrols, night guards or watchmen of fields and villages. The term literally means some one who summarizes the situation or squeezes the information (सार निचोड़ने वाला) The designation *pramatara* or *pramatri* which was also perhaps a title, seems to have been created some times in the sixth or seventh centuries A.D. The officer styled *pramaṭṛ* was evidently an official of the Judicial department in the times of Harṣha. The term is found in the records of the Maitrakas as well. The Valabhi grant of Dhruvasena III (A.D. 654)[88] states that massenger for this charter was the *pramaṭṛ* śrī Nāga. The grant of Kharagraha II[89] also mentions an officer *dutaka pramatri* Śrina. R.S. Tripathi[90] explains the *pramatra* or *pramatri* as some one probably entrusted with Justice. U.N. Ghoshāl[91] connects the office with the department of land survey, while G Bühler[92] takes it to mean a 'spiritual counsellor' on the basis of etymology,[93] It seems that the function of this officer was to interpret the *dharma-śāstras* for the king in court, or to perform the same function as an officer in a law court. If in any way, his office, in addition to this, was also associated with land survey, the *pramatri* would, indeed, be a most qualified

officer who witnessed the execution of a religious document.[94] In all probability *Parmatri* was a official related to Justice.

The word *Āyuktaka* appears to be of considerable antiquity as it is being found referred to by Pāṇini, where it signifies a person appointed to some small work of a special character[95]. The Allāhabād pillar inscription of Samudragupta records the expression *āyukta puruṣa* in the sense of officer employed for restoring wealth of the various kings vanquished by Samudragupta[96]. D.C. Sircar takes *āyukta puruṣa* to indicate a treasury officer like the *yukta* of Aśokan inscriptions.[97] In the various Maitraka grants the king is shown issuing the notification of land gifts to the *āyuktaka*, *mahattaras*, *drangikas*, *chāta*, *bhata* etc.[98] In these inscriptions the *āyuktaka* gets the first place among the hierarchy of the above state officials, implying thereby that he was an important officer in the Maitraka kingdom. The mention of *āyuktaka* with *mahattara*, *drangika* and *chātabhata* seems to suggests that he was an officer of the village.[99] R. S. Sharma is of the opinion that *āyuktaka*, a village officer of the Maitraka inscriptions, lived upon a share of an agricultural produce of the village people. What is remarkable is that he could impose forced labour on peasant women to serve his own needs, and not for the sake of the monarch. This depicts the germs of feudal tendency in the village organisation during the period.[100] Again, on the basis of the nature of example given in the *kaumudi* to illustrate the rule, H.M. Bhadkāmkar suggests, that the *āyuktaka* was a brahmana employed for religious or charitable purposes such as the *pujāris* or the worshippers at the temples or the *āśhramas*.[101] But this explanation is not convincing and it seems that *āyuktaka* was an important officer probably at district or local level.

In the Maitraka records the *āyuktaka* is usually followed by the *viniyakutaka.*[102] Sircar treats the latter as an officer of a similar category, appointed by the viceroy.[103] A passage of the *Raghuvaṁsa* (of Kālidāsa) uses the expression *kośthagareniyuktaḥ*, meaning thereby an officer employed to administer the affairs of the treasury[104] Saletore equates this term with the *viniyuktaka* of inscriptions.[105] In the Navalakhi plates of Śilāditya I the *viniyuktaka* may have been an officer in charge of village as *pātil* (the headman), *kulkarni* (the clerk) or some such village officer.[106] In some Maitraka epigraphs we come across *āyuktaniyukta*[107] G. P. Sinhā thinks that in all likelihood this *niyukta* is the same as *viniyuktaka*[108]. Anyhow, we need to concede to the view of D.C. Sircar in this matter, who thinks that *viniyuktaka* is an official title meaning a smaller administrative officer serving under a higher officer probably the *āyuktaka.*[109] Thus *Viniyuktaka* or *tad viniyuktaka* could be the officer who was appointed by *āyuktaka* (आयुक्त नियुक्ता).

The Maitraka inscriptions also refer to another officer *Śaulkika*[110]. He is mentioned as one of the officers who was informed of land grants. G.P. Sinha suggests that word *Śaulkika* is not mentioned in the inscriptions before that of Skandagupta.[111] Vogel, takes *śaulkika* to be a custom officer[112]. A.S. Altekar on the other hand equates *Śulka* with *bhūtavāta pratyaya* of West Indian copper plate grants, meaning thereby a tax on what has been produced in the village.[113] Thus according to him, the term refers to the general excise and octroi duties that were collected in the villages. But the term is obviously derived from *śulka* which was an item of commercial tax. Fleet, there fore, rightly points out that the *śaulkika* was a

superintendent of tolls and customs.[114] Thus *śaulkika* was an officer connected with custom and excise levies.

The *anutpanna samudgrāhaka*[115] has been explained by Bhagwān lāl Indrāji as the arrears gatherer[116]. Sankalia describes him as the collector of unpaid taxes.[117] Some scholars believe that the *anutpannasamudgrāhakas* were probably charged with the forcible collection of the so-called voluntary gifts from the subjects[118]. Etymologically the term *annutpanna dāna Samud grāhaka* could be divided into four separate words, viz., *anutpanna*, 'unproduced'- Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 33; *dāna* –'to cut or reap'- Apte, V.S., *Sanskrit Hindi Koṣa*, p. 454; *samud-* 'raised or fully grown up',– Apte, *op. cit.*, p. 846; and *grāhaka*– 'receiver or extractor'; Apte, *op. cit.*, p. 360. Collectively the term, thus denotes an officer who received or collected the royal share from a fallow land on the full growth (ripening) of the crops.

The *Mahāsandhivigrahika* or *Sandhi vigrahika* which occurs frequently in the Maitraka charters is taken to mean the foreign minister[119], who worked in close cooperation with the king and the military department during the Gupta and Post Gupta period. G.P. Sinhā, in fact declares that the term *sandhivigrahika* is first mentioned in the Gupta inscritptions.[120] The other synonymous titles[121] of *Sandhivigrahika*, as used in the Maitraka epigraphs were *Sandhivigrahādhikṛta*[122] and *Sandhivigrah ādhikaraṇādhikṛta*[123]. As far as the duties of this office are concerned, the minister acted as the executor of the land grants.[124] The *Mahāsandhivigrahika* was perhaps in charge of the royal policy towards the vassal states during the times. He was required to be a great diplomat, and his reputation spread far and wide if he could achieve by peaceful negotiations what

could have been gained by the war. *Sandhivigrahādhikaraṇādhikṛta* was probably the official appointed by *Sandhivigrahaka.*

The *Balādhikṛta*[125] or the *Mahāsenāpati* or the *Senāpati* are taken to mean the commander in chief or the supreme military officer. That the above mentioned terms were used during the Maitraka epoch can be deduced from the fact that Maliya copper plate grant of Dharasena II (A.D. 571) specifically states that the founder of the Maitraka dynasty, Bahtārka, was a *senāpati*[126]. Another important military officer was the *dandanāyaka,* who might have combined both military and judicial duties[127]. In fact the Valā grant of Dhruvasena I assigns to the king, the title of *Mahādandanāyaka*[128] But Virji defines the term as the chief judge whose duties also included those of the head police officer and magistrate,[129] and this version seems to be correct.

The terms *chāta* or *ćata* and *bhata* occur simultaneously in almost all the Maitraka land grants.[130] Bühler thinks that *Ćata* probably means 'fortuneteller'[131] Monier Williams dictionary raises the query that it should properly be *chara* (a spy). But the explanation is untenable. Yajñavalkya speaks of *ćātas* along with thieves, etc., as men who are likely to be injurious to the public[132]. In the *Mṛchchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka, the friend of the hero remarks, 'even the most daring and wicked will not dare to go to a place where a *chāta* and the courtiers reside'[133]. Some writers have sought to explain *chāta* as flatterer, deriving the word from Sanskrit *chātu* meaning flattery[134]. *Bhata* on the other hand, individually means 'a soldier'. Perhaps the word is connected with *Bhata* the herald attendant on a king, whose duty is to sing his praises.[135] D.C. Sircar believes that *Bhata* was the same as the *Bhatamanuśya*[136], probably derived from

bhṛta which is some times used in its place. The same scholar is inclined to take *Bhata* to mean a constables or a *Paik* or *Piādā*[137]. The term *bhata* is also spelt as *bhātta*, which means medieval singer or musician.[138] But the expression *Chāta bhata* occurs generally as a compound in the Maitraka inscriptions. Sircar thinks that as a compound the expression means a group of police officials. According to him *bhatas* were the constables while *chāta* was their police head.[139] Prāṇ Nāth states that every *sthānā* (thānā of modern times) was garrisoned by a force, half-soldier and half-police, who are called *chara-bhatas*[140]. Bhagwān lāl Idrāji deciphers *chātabhata* as *'bhata* or sepoys for *chitas* or rogues, police mounted and on foot, representing the modern police *jamādārs*, *havaldārs* and constables'.[141] H. Chakraborti explains *chāta* and *bhata* as performing the duty something like that of the policeman, watchman or peon[142]. Vogel points out that in Western India, *'char'* is the title of the head of the pargana responsible for the management of the district for the collections of revenue.[143] But the expression *achatabhata praveśya* means not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers.[144] This is the best possible interpretation of the phrase. In the present light, thus the officers *chāta* and *bhata* must be considered as petty officers of the regular and irregular army.

The *Kāṭhebhārika*[145] has been defined by Sankalia as meaning a manager (derived from the Gujarāti term *Karbhāri*)[146]. But etymologically the term *Kāṭhebhārika* of *Kāthebārika* is derived from *kāṭha* (काठ i.e. wood) and *Bhārika* (भारिक i.e., a porter). Therefore *Kāṭhebhārika* probably means an officer connected with the

movement of the royal family in a palanquin [काठ : + भारिक = लकड़ी का बोझ उठाने वाला या पालकी उठाने वाला].

The *Dutaka*[147] literally the 'messenger' is the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. The term is most commonly found in connection with copper plates, but rarely in stone inscriptions. This officer was to carry, not the charter itself, but to carry the royal orders for drawing up of such charters, with the help of local officials.[148] Seeing, however, that in several cases, Maitraka princes of royal blood, generally the heir apparent, are styled in the manner, R.G. Bhandārkar and Bhadkāmkar translated the word as 'a minister or executive officer', who was a man of high position and who had to attend the *Sasanas* as required by *Smṛtis*[149]. A grant of Dharasena IV mentions two officers, the *dutaka* princess Bhupa and *devana*, the chief secretary, Skandabhata.

The expression *Mahākśapatalika* is evidently derived from the term *akśapatala*, which according to Monier William means a court of law or a depository of legal documents. R. Shamāshastry translates the term *akśapatala* occurring in the *Arthaśāstra* as accountants office.[150] According to D.C. Sircar, *akśapatala* may mean the department of records and accounts and *aksapatalādhikṛta* (or *aksapatālika*) is an officer or superintendent incharge of it.[151] The term occurs in a host of Valabhi inscriptions[152] and can be taken to mean the incharge of the whole department of records.

The expression *Mahāpratihāra*[153] has been described by D.C. Sircar as meaning the superintendent of troops in charge of defence of the gates of the palace and capital and probably also of the kings body guard. He may also have been an officer attending on the king at the door of the royal bed chamber.[154] This is so suggested because the

expression is derived from the word *pratihāra* meaning, there by, the gate keeper. From the Maitraka records it can be inferred that he had to look after the inner apartment of the king, had a staff of office and had to report to the king of the arrival of persons who sought his audience. Thus he can be termed as the door keeper or the head chamberlain or the head of the palace guard.

According to Bhadkamkar the word *divirapati*[155] signifies the head clerk or at the most the chief secretary of the king. According to *Smṛtis* a sasana had to be in the hand writing of the clerk whose business was to draft the important order of peace and war, and *divirapati* was one such clerk[156]. The word *divira* presents a close similarity with the modern word *dabira* and is probably a Sanskritised form of the latter. *Dabira* is an Arabic word meaning 'manager or secretary'. It was the official name of one of the eight ministers of Shivāji and is equivalent to the title *sumanta*. This officer was very much the same as a 'foreign secretary' and had charge of all records concerning treaties etc., with foreign powers. As *divirapati* was also a revenue officer, in both the capacities he recorded the where about of grantor and the grantee as well as the village to be granted.

By the derivation *sàm-anta*, Monier Williams, in the *Sanskrit English Dictionary* translates *sāmanta* as meaning, 'bordering', 'neighbouring', 'being on all sides'. Based on this Lallanji Gopāl[157] points out that in the beginning, when applied to villages, the term, meant a neighbouring cultivator, and when used in connection with kingdoms it denoted a neighbouring king. Later the term came to be applied to those neighbouring kings who had been made subordinate[158]. In the seventh century A.D. *sāmanta* in the *Mālatimādhava* appears to represent a chieftain. It seems that the

practice of some *Sāmantas* residing at the imperial court permanently, had been well established by now. Dikshitar points out that during the Gupta times a *Sāmanta* was the minister in charge of the provinces.[159] But during the times of Harṣhavardhana, it is apparent, however, that the term was also used as an honorific title. In the Maitraka inscriptions of the period *sāmantas* or *mahā-sāmantas* are given more than one official designation,[160] which shows that not only *sāmanta* but also some other appellations were sinecures.[161].

The meaning of the term *hastyasvārohas*[162] is not clear. Literally through it could be taken to mean an officer in charge of the elephants and horses (or stable)[163]. But the term could also be connected with an army officer who rode on both the horse and the elephant.

The *Grāmakuta* as mentioned in the Maitraka charters[164] denoted the headman of the village[165]. The functionary next to the village headman was the *Mahattara.*[166] Fleet thinks that the term *mahattara* is the comparative formation of *mahat*, i.e., great.[167] Monier Williams explains it to be 'the head or the oldest man of the village'. Stein defines the term as meaning an elder of town or village, or village headman, or head of the family or community and the member of village council[168]. According to Bhagwān lāl Indrāji, the *mahattara* or senior has the derivative meaning of high in rank. In Marāthi the term *mahattara* is used for an old man. In the Maitraka records *mahattara* seems to be generally used to mean the accredited headman of a village, recognised as headman both by the people of the village and by the government.[169] Some times they were also called *mahāttamās* and were often mentioned along with the policemen and the soldiers in the Maitraka records, thus showing their

esteemed position during the period. They are often referred to as being associated with land transactions. Perhaps they were the leading men in the village either on account of their age or their ability, wealth and social position.

Another official by the name of *pratinartaka* occurs in the Alina copper plate grant of the Maitraka king Śilādity a VII[170]. The grant states that Siddhasena an officer probably, the chief of the *Akśapatala* issued the charter which was written by his deputy, the *pratinartaka*, the high born Amātya Guha, the son of Hembhata, who was deputed to transcribe it[171]. According to Fleet the term appears to be an official or family title. Monier Williams takes it in the sense of 'to dance before, in token of contempt'. But it more probably has some connection with *nartaka* in the sense of 'a bard' a 'herald'.[172] But from the description of the above mentioned inscription, it can be deduced that *Pratinartaka* was a subordinate of the *Akśpatālika* and perhaps a lower official of the records department.χ

As regards the king's cabinet and his council the Maitraka records are almost silent. Scarcely any evidence worth the name is forth coming in this regard and hence, for forming an idea of the working of these bodies we have to fall back on the inscriptions and literary evidences left by other contemporary rulers.[173] It seems that the above mentioned officials fell into two groups. The ministers who were generally princes of royal blood constituted by themselves, the

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χ Apart from the officers listed above, one more official by the name of *Karmāntika* appears in the Bhamodra Mohota plates of Dronasimha, vs. 183 (*El.* XVI, p. 17ff). Sircar, D.C. describes him as an agent connected with the execution of business: a store of grain ; or cultivated land (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 429, n. 3). In the above inscription however, the term is coupled with *devi* (*devi-karmantika*) meaning thereby the intendent of the estate of the goddess. Etymologically *Karmāntika* कर्मान्तिका means सूत्रधार. (Laision officer)

parişad or the council of ministers. Their chief functions included a discussion on all state matters, legislation on civil and military affairs, planning of the foreign policy and administration of justice and finance.[174] In short, the council of ministers carried the burden of country's administration. On occasions, however, the king could veto their decisions if he deemed it fit to employ such a check on their action[175]. This *Parişad* along with the royal princes and the feudatories of the empire constituted the *Sabhā* or the emperor's council[176]. The most significant functions of this institution of the elders seems to have been the declaration of war and peace; the appointment of a successor to the throne and the summoning of periodic religious councils.[177]

One striking feature of the Maitraka times is that several offices were held by one and the same minister. Thus Dhruvabhatta[178] is *Kumāramātya* and *sandhivigrahika*; he is also called *mahāsāmanta* and *mahāpratihāra*.[179] In Navalakhi grant of Śilāditya I, the *divirapti* is also mentioned as the *sandhivigrahādhikṛta*.[180] Again, in the Jesur plates of Śilāditya III, a person called Mammaka is styled *divirapati* and also *sandhivigrahika*, *mahāpratihāra* and *sāmanta*[181].

For the purpose of efficient administration the Maitraka empire was divided into a number of administrative units which themselves, in their turn, were subdivided into small ones, which may, for purpose of convenience, be called provinces, districts and villages. With regard to the formation of such territorial divisions for administrative purposes, it must be pointed out, that it was not based on any scientific principle such as linguistic affinity or geographical contiguity, but largely on historical and political accidents. No novel or original procedure was adopted, and the older geographical and

political units were accepted as such by the Maitrakas and allowed to continue in the frame work of the territorial divisions under them. Thus, as regards the units of administration, the Maitraka set up could not be termed as 'original' because they evidently did not entirely cut them selves away from the historic traditions of their illustrious predecessors. It is obvious from the references in the inscriptions of the dynasty under study, that their administrative set up drew heavily from that of the Western Kśatrapas, the Sātavāhanas, the Scythians and of course, the imperial Guptas. The administrative machinery of the last two seem to have served as models, which were adapted to local needs by the Maitraka monarchs.

But to govern such an extensive empire, the Maitrakas could not have depended entirely on an imported administrative system. No doubt they borrowed the existing system of territorial divisions but alongside they developed in their home province, Saurāśtra, a system of their own. Since it is neither known to exist in pre-Maitraka or post-Maitraka period, either in Kāthiāwāḍ or elsewhere, it seems to be their contribution to the growth of indigenous Indian territorial divisions.

Some idea of the machinery of administration is formed by the designations of some of the important officers of the Maitraka state as these officials were placed in charge of the various units of administration into which their empire was divided. The credentials and nomenclatures of there officers along side that of some territorial divisions are mentioned in the Maitraka epigraphic charters, and they alone supply the most dependable material on the contemporary administrative practices[182]. Consequently, not only the Maitraka land grants but also those of other contemporary dynasties, have been very

closely scrutinized to form an overview of the divisions of the empire into manageable administrative units. One thing worth mentioning here is that these administrative units worked both as territorial and fiscal divisions under the Maitraka kingdom. In fact, there is nothing in the post Mauryan and Gupta sources to indicate the prevalence of units for revenue assessment and collection.[183] Same is the case with the Maitrakas. Moreover, the mention of territorial divisions and fiscal exemptions in one and the same inscription of the Maitrakas indicates that the former served as fiscal units as well.

Besides the larger territorial units like the *āhāra*,[184] *āhāraṇi*,[185] *bhukti*,[186] *viśaya*[187] and *pathaka*[188], the existence of the first three we know from the Gupta period onwards; we come across smaller units like *bheda*,[189] *bhumi*,[190] *dranga*[191], *mandala*,[192], *patta*,[193] *padraka*,[194] *peṭha*,[195] *prāpa*,[196] *praveśya*,[197] *sthali*,[198] *grāma*[199] and the *palli*,[200] in the Maitraka inscriptions. It would have been of immense value had we been able to gauge the comparative territorial limits of all these units. But unfortunately, despite the best efforts of the present day scholars and their far reaching researches, the state of the administrative set up of ancient India history is still not definitely ascertained. This is so because very few of the ancient Indian geographical place names have been identified hitherto. Thus, out of nearly two hundred odd place names related to the Maitrakas, not more than fifty or sixty could be identified with any degree of certainty. Secondly and more significantly, no uniform name is assigned to a particular administrative unit and the various territorial units are connoted differently from period to period and region to region. This has led to a state of chaos with the result that we can not fix the limits or boundaries of even the larger units, and we are at a

loss to comprehend how much area was covered by each of these units. Again, in the absence of a detailed and systematic data about the general administrative structure of the Maitrakas, it is not always possible to determine the hierarchy of these territorial units or define what their relation *inter se* was. Questions like whether they constituted only horizontal divisions and were not related to one another vertically remain unanswered.

Starting from the bottom, the smallest administrative unit under the Maitrakas was the universal *grāma* or the village, with the *grāmika* or *grāmkutaka* as its head. This can be proved on the basis of a good many references in the epigraphs of the dynasty. For instance, in the Ganeshgad plates of Dhruvaseña I,dated c. A. D. 526-27, mention is made of the village of Hariyāṇaka 'which belonged to Akśasaha prāpa of the Hasta vaprāhāraṇi'[201]. The Pālitānā grant of the same ruler mentions, the 'jyeśthānaka grāma belonging to the Akśasāraka praveśya in the Harstavapraāhāraṇi'.[202] [Meaning, thereby, 'in the *āhāraṇi* of Hastavapra. *Āhāraṇi* or *āhāra* is the territorial term corresponding to the modern 'district', Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 12. The term is often used in the Maitraka land grants. Hastavapra corresponds to the modern village Hathab, about 9.6 kms south of Gogha, in the Bhāvnagar district, *IA*. VII, p. 54; LIV, Appendix, p. 49.] *Grāma* as an administrative unit is, infact, known since Vedic age when it was ' united by ties of kindred'[203]. This was also familiar to *Kautilya*[204] who mentions the village labourers as *grāmabhṛtaka* and refers to the village as *grāma*. Hence, right from its inception, the *grāma* had been a part of Indian administrative structure and has provided an excellent example of self government in ancient times. Like today, the size of the villages

varied considerably. Both a cluster of a dozen houses and a dozen of such clusters were called grāmas.[205]

Grāma was also known by the nomenclature of *grāmaka*[206] and *palli*[207]. The suffix *palli* is found in at least a dozen Maitraka land grants. *Palli* or its diminutive *pallikā* is derived from the *pal* meaning to go, to move and so on. There seems to be no reference to it in the earlier literature, but later it came to connote a very tiny village,[208] a village of wandering herdsmen (*abhira-palli*),[♦] of wild tribes; den of thieves or a house of *chāṇḍāla*. The underlying idea in the literature is thus of insignificance and unrespectability. But in Maitraka inscriptions it is not used in that sense. According to H.D. Sankalia,[209] the words preceeding *palli* show that besides *ćora, chāṇḍāla* and *abhira*, other things could also form a *palli*. More importantly the addition of *grāma* to *palli* implies that the place had already outgrown a small, tiny settlement and the latter formed part of the name itself. Hence Sankalia does not agree to its being a territorial unit under the Maitrakas.

The *dranga, peṭha* and *patta* form, three other smaller territorial divisions under the Maitrakas. Perhaps all the three were equal in status and constituted some sort of town or city. But all this is conjectural and the only thing which can be said with any degree of certainly is that all three were above *grāma* and below the other bigger divisions like the *sthali, pathaka* and *viśaya*.

The *dranga* meaning a town[210] was one of the most important smaller units in the Maitraka dominions and it was headed by a town officer called *drangika*. This office is not found in the Gupta or pre-

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♦ More appropriately a village of the Abhira tribe

Gupta systems of administration and seems to be peculiar to the Maitraka regime. The *dranga* included a number of villages in its jurisdiction. This we can deduce from three Maitraka grants where there is reference to villages belonging to the *mandali dranga*[211]. Often the *dranga* was styled *pura, puri, pattana* (meaning a sea or river port), *nagara* etc.

Patta, a territorial division and an administrative unit, of which the village formed a part, is mentioned in some Maitraka epigraphs. For instance the Bantia grant refers to a village in Uttarapatta (northen division or half) of the Kaundinyapura viśaya.[212] Again, the Kapaḍavanj grant of Dhruvasena III, dated 653-54 A.D. mentions the village of Pattapadraka in the Dakśinapatta (southern division) of the Sivabhāgapura viśaya.[213] The fact that the *patta* was territorially smaller than the *viśaya* is well borne out by these inscriptions. In fact the *patta* was the main sub-division of the *viśaya* and in the context of these grants it appears that a *viśaya* was generally divided into northern and southern *pattas* like a province as in the present.[Φ] The word *patta* according to Kittle, among other things, means either a city, town or village.[214] Its diminutive form is probably *pati* or *patti* which in kannaḍa means a pen or fold, an abode, a hamlet. The word *patta* also seems to have close affinity with *patti* or *pattikā* meaning 'a strip of land'. *Patta* may also be connected with '*pataka*' which usually means a splitter or divider. The term *patta* may, therefore, be interpreted to mean a sub-division of a viśaya.

The *peṭha*, yet another territorial division of the Maitraka kingdom, usually occurs in the epigraphs of the Vākātakas and the

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Φ Like Paṭiālā i.e. Patti of Bāḷā Alā, forefather of the Paṭiālā rulers.

Parivarajakas. Only occasionally it is found in *Saurāṣtran* records. We come across this term in the Jhār copper plate grant of Dharasena II, dated A.D. 571-72. It refers to the *Vatagrāma* in the *Dipanaka peṭha* and the *Bilvakahata sthali*[215]. From the above mentioned reference it can be surmised that *peṭha* was larger than a *grāma* but smaller than a *sthali*. The word *peṭha* may be traced to the root of Karnātaka influence, for even today the word in Kan·aḍa means, a market town, a place of sale, or long street of shops in a town.[216] In face of these above mentioned facts along with the assumptions that *petha* and *patta* were almost equal in size,[217] one is lured to infer that both these territorial divisions were, infact, equal in status. Moreover, the terms *patta* and *peṭha* show an apparent phonetic similarity.

Two other small administrative units were the *Sthali* and the *pathaka* which we come across in the Pālitānā plates of Dharasena II of Valabhi, dated c. A.D. 571-72[218]. The Jhār grant of the same king, dated A.D. 571-72, mentioned the name of the village of *Vatagrāma* in the *Dipanaka peṭha* and the *Bilvakhata sthali*[219]. From these inscriptions it is clear that the *Sthali* was a larger unit than the *peṭha* and the *grāma*.[220] The word *Sthali* has probably some phonetic relation with the word *Sthala* (place), but its significance as a territorial or administrative unit can not probably be made out. Any how, the *sthali*, though consisting of several villages does not appear to be a big division. A Maitraka grant of king Dharasena II, date v 571 A.D. also makes it evident that the *sthalis* mentioned in it were not far distant from each other.[221] The headquarters of Bilvakhata, Jhari and Vatapallikā lay at a distance of about forty miles from each other, thus covering an area of about 160 square kms. Both *pathaka* and *sthali* are mentioned without a word about the next large division

to which they belonged. But there is some reason to believe that *dranga* was a sub division of the *sthali*[222]. A comparative study of the epigraphs shows that the term *sthali* was used in Saurāṣtra alone and a number of place names with the suffix *sthalis* have been found in Maitraka grants. Some of these are Ambarenu *sthali*, Anumanji *sthali*, Kadampapadra *sthali*, Barvana *sthali* and the Punyānaka or the Pusyanaka *sthali*. H.D. Sankalia rightly remarks that '*Sthali* seems to be the Maitraka contribution to our Knowledge of the history of administration in India'.[223] *Sthali* is, indeed, exclusively found several times in the Valabhi records and is conspicuous by its absence in the records of any other dynasty which ruled over coastal Gujarāt. Virji points out that since *sthali* means a natural spot of ground, it must have been originally used to designate a natural division[224]. This is further substantiated by Sankalia who believes that there might be some geological or physiographical significance behind the use of *sthala* or *sthali* being confined to Kāthiāwāḍ alone. Most of the Kāthiāwāḍ was once geologically under the sea, therefore it needs to be investigated whether *stahli* was used for the land which was elevated and became dry and habitable[225].

The term *pathaka*, denoting one of the territorial divisions, is often found in the epigraphs of the Maitrakas of Valabhi.[226] The Jhār grant of Dharasena II[227] records the grant of the village of Asila pallika in the Bandarijidri *pathaka*, which was situated in the Khetakahara *viśaya*.[228] It is stated in a grant of Dhruvasena II that Vasanta *grāma* was situated in the kata *pathaka*, which later formed part of the Saurāṣtra country[229]. The Bhāvnagar plates of Dharasena III mentions Dabhaka village in the kalapaka *pathaka*[230]. According to a charter of Dharasena IV, the village Desurksitijja in the

Sinhapllika *pathaka* in the *khetakāhāra* is granted to the Brahmana Nārāyana Mitra.[231] Similarly, a later Maitraka inscription mentions the village Mahilabalināma in the Uppalaheta *pathaka* in the *khetakāhāra.*[232] From these two records it appears that the khetakāhāra included at least two *pathakas*, Simhapallika and Uppalaheta, if no more. Two different references to Bambuvānaka (or Jambuvānara) in two grants[233] imply that a *sthali* was perhaps included in a *pathaka*, for one refers to it as a *sthali*, and the other mentions it simply as village in the Katapaka *pathaka.*[234] This also indicates that the *pathaka* cannot be equated to the *peṭha*, which as we have seen above, was a smaller unit than a *sthali*. Some times *pathaka* is shown to be probably akin to *patha*, *pati*, *patti* and *pattikā*. This assumption also seems to be absurd as we know that *patta* was quite different unit and it was perhaps equivalent of the *peṭha*. Further, in a grant of Dharasena IV the term *pathaka* occurs evidently as a division including some villages when a reference is made to the grant of the village named kikkataputra in the kalapaka *pathaka* in Saurāṣtra[235]. It may be noticed here that the hierarchial order of the four territorial units in order of importance is given as *grāma*, *pathaka*, *āhāra* and *viśaya*. We come across several other references to the territorial unit, *pathaka* in the Maitraka inscriptions. Some of these are, Nagara pathaka, Ghasarka pathaka, Banarijidri patthaka, kastrada pathaka, kala paka pathaka, konaka pathaka and Porbondara pathaka. An aproximate area of 400 sq. miles was covered by a *pathaka*[236]. Virji suggests that the term *pathaka* was probably first used to denote a region through which a big road *(path)* passed.[237] D.C Sircār, while defining the term states that it is a group of villages, a territorial division like a paraganā of later days[238]. But the logical

meaning of the word *pathaka* is 'the half or any part or a kind of village or a shore or a bank'.[239]

The *bhūmi*, another territorial division, is mentioned only in one grant, which refers to the expression; *sivabhāgapura visaye ghṛtalaya bhumau pangula pallikā grāmah*,[240] according to which the *grāma*, the *bhūmi* and the *viśya* formed consecutive units of administration. The unit is not mentioned in the records of any other dynasty. Virji, however, thinks that because the Maitraka records refer to *bhumi* as a main division of the *visaya* just like the *pathaka*, it may possibly have been equivalent to the latter[241]. But this is conjectural. According to Sankalia the administrative units *bheda* and *bhūmi* are found very rarely out side Kāthiāwāḍ[242]. This has also not helped matters in deciphering the exact status of *bhūmi*. Probably a group of villages constituted a *bhūmi*. Scholars think that evidently it was analogous to the *nadu* of the south Indian inscriptions which was an administrative unit which lay between the *kottam* (district) and the *Ur* (village). Whether the *bhūmi* was equal to the *pathaka* or the *patta* is not easy to ascertain.

Over these several petty units mentioned above, was the higher administrative unit of an *āhāra* or *āhāraṇi*, meaning apparently the collectorate, equivalent to a modern district. This unit of territorial division has been known since the Scythian period, but we do not came across it in the Gupta, Pāla or Sena period. At the head of each *āhāra* or *āhārani* (this latter term specifically used in Saurāṣtra) was known as *rāṣtrapati* corresponding to the *rāṣtrikas* of the Mauryan or post Mauryan records. There is no mention of *rāṣtra* as an administrative unit under the Maitrakas although the office of *rastrapati* is mentioned frequently enough. Thus it is inferred that

rāṣtra and *āhāra* were probably synonymous, as they had been even in the Scythian period, for the Satavahani *ratha* or *rāṣtra* was also known as Satavahani *hara* (āhāra)[243]. The office of *amāṭya* mentioned in Maitraka inscriptions was often that of governors of *āhāras* or *rāṣtras*. Of *āhāras*[244] in Maitraka grants, mention could be made of *khetaka āhāra* (modern kheḍa) and *Hastavaprāhāra* (modern Hathab). It seems that *āhāra* and *āhāraṇi* were used inter changeably in the administrative nomenclature of the Maitrakas. Thus in the Gaṇeśhgadh plates of Dhruvasena I, dated A.D. 526-27, mention is made of the village of Hariyāṇaka, which belonged to the *Akśasahaprāpa* of the Hastavapra *āhāraṇi*[245]. The Pālitānā plates of the same ruler mentions the same. Hastavapra, but now as an *āhāra*[246].

The largest administrate unit in the Maitraka administrative hierarchy is believed to be the *viśaya*[247]. It was well known in the post Mauryan, Gupta and post-Gupta times and in fact in all the northern Indian machineries of administration. That the *viśaya* was larger administrative unit than the *āhāra* or *rāṣtra* is proved by the Kavi grant of the Gurjara king. Jayabhata, dated A.D. 486[248] which mentions first the *viśayapati*, then the *rastrapati* and then the *grāmamahattar*. But the exact opposite is stated by the Samagaḍ grant of Dantidurga;[249] Waṇi grant of Govinda III[250] (both of Rāṣtrakuta dynasty) and the Kanṭhem grant of Vikramaditya IV[251]. A grant of king Dharaseva IV, which has already been mentioned above refers to the Sivabhāgapura *viśaya*.

Bhūkti, which literally means enjoyment, is often referred to in the Gupta inscriptions as a large unit of administration. But this unit finds only occasional mention in the Maitraka records and according

to Sankalia, has been found so far only once in there inscriptions[252]. The exact size and importance of this territorial division is not known.

The comparison of these three larger units, the *āhāra*, the *viśaya* and the *bhūkti*, is quite interesting. Of these *viśaya* and *bhūkti* are some times treated as equivalent. This is evident from the Nogwā plates of Dhruvasena II, A.D. 639-40[253], which refer to Mālavaka in one case as a *bhūkti* and in another as *viśaya*. Then again in a grant of Dharasena II v.s. 270, i.e., A.D. 589[254], the expression *khetaka-ahara-viśaya* shows the term *āhāra* and *viśaya* were atleast some times, if not always synonymously used. Finally, so far as the Maitraka kingdom is concerned, Virji opines that Hastavapra *āhāra*, kaundinyapura *viśaya* and Vardhmana *bhūkti*, formed the main divisions of Saurāṣtra, and so the unit *āhāra* was synonymous with the *viśaya* and the *bhūkti*[255]. All these suggestions, mooted by K.J. Virji, and others, are plausible but by no means decisive and conclusive. The evidences they cite have been refuted by others. For instance, A.S. Altekar[256], is of the view that *bhūkti* was the intevening division between the *visaya* and the *desa*. Writing about the Gupta period he compared the *viśaya* and the *bhūkti* in size respectively with the modern district and commissioner's division[257]. Further, the equality between the *āhāra* and *viśaya* also cannot be accepted in the light of the Bhavnagar plate of Dharasena III, dated A.D. 623, which refers to the village Amarkupta in the Hastavapra *āhāra* in the *Saurāṣtra viśaya*[258]. This shows that the *ahara* was smaller than the *visaya* as a territorial unit. Thus, it is difficult to say anything about the size and relative importance of these divisions and fresh evidence is awaited to throw more light on the subject. Any how, from the references in the Maitraka inscriptions, we can deduce eight *viśayas* in all Saurāṣtra,

viz., Sivabhāgapura, Suryapura, Ānandpura, khetaka, Mālavaka, Ghoras and Bharukachchha. These units were fairly large in terms of area and when studied in the light of modern identifications, go to prove that *viśaya* was indeed high up on the administrative hierarchical ladder and must have been the largest territorial division under the Maitrakas. That, three out of the eight *viśayas* mentioned above, bear the suffix *pura* indicate that the Maitraka *viśayas* were urban settlements.

Apart from the political divisions already mentioned above, a few other administrative units of the Valabhi kings, have been suggested by several scholars and disputed by others. These are the *praveśya*, *prāpa*, the *bheda* and the *mandali*. In the Pālitānā grant of Dhruvasena I, dated 527 A.D., mention is made of the 'Jyeśthānaka *grāma* belonging to the Aksasaraka *praveśya* in the Hastavapra *āhārani*'[259]. The Gaṇeśhgad plates of the same ruler alludes to the village which belongs to Akśasaha *prāpa* of the Hastavaprāhāraṇi[260]. Hultzsch interpreted *prāpa* to mean a territorial sub-division[261]. V.S. Sukthānkar[262] agrees with Hultzsch, and derives the words *praveśya* and *prāpiya* from *praveśa* and *prāpa* respectively. But Sten Konow seems to disagree with this and he says that both the words are synonymous, and in the ordinary sense mean, ' which is entered from', i.e., 'which borders on'[263]. According to Konow *praveśya* merely denoted a fiscal term and nothing else. The explanation of Sukhtānkar and Hultzsch in this regard appears plausible but by no means conclusive. These two expressions occur only twice in Maitraka inscriptions[264], on the basis of which Virji has correctly interpreted that the terms *prāpa* and *praveśya* does not denote an

administrative division, but their natural meaning it seems was 'to be arrived at' and 'to be entered from' or 'laying in the vicinity of'.

Another term is the *bheda*, found only once in a grant referring to a place named *Bhatārkabheda*, as marking the southern boundary of a plot of land[265]. Its precise meaning cannot be deciphered from the context. But *bheda* does not appear to be a territorial division.

The term *mandali* is detected from the expression, *Sodakena kamandaluna*[266], wrongly read as *sapokedraka mandalyam*[267], mentioned in the Maitraka grants. On the basis of these grants, *mandali* cannot be regarded as a territorial unit. Virji presents a contradictory statement regarding this word, as at one place she rejects *mandali* to be an administrative unit[268], while at another she lists it as one of the sub-divisions[269].

Hence from the above discussion, it seems that the Maitrakas adopted some Gupta territorial units such as *grāma*, *viśaya* and *bhūkti* and at the same time created certain new ones. Some of their petty units are especially interesting and significant as regards the development of ancient Indian administrative structure. The *bheda* and *bhumi* are rarely found outside Kāthiāwāḍ. The other two new units under the Maitrakas were *pathaka* and *sthali*. (For detailed information regarding the probable administrative divisions under the Maitraka empire please see exhibit number 5.1).

A study of the administration of the Maitrakas will never be complete without a mention of the Military organisation under them. The army, of course, was an indispensable institution of the state. Kamaṇḍaka who belonged to the Gupta period, infact differs from Kautilya on the importance of the army as one of the seven constituents of the state. While Kautilya prefers *koṣa* (treasury) to

daṇda (army), Kamaṇdaka considers army to be more important than treasury. This difference might be due to the conditions prevailing in the last days of the Gupta rule and in the post Gupta period when India had to pass through a phase of political instability and when, as its natural corollary, India gave rise to petty states each warring against another and depending on its own army.

The post Gupta period witnessed some change in the military organisation. The idea of the fourfold army still held ground, as Yuan Chwang also states that it comprised four wings, the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants[270]. But in actuality, the chariot got out of regular use. Apparently the Chinese scholar is reproducing the theoretical list, for chariots were out of use even in Gupta times. Bana's detailed description of royal campus also does not make any references to the chariots.[271]

The mention of the national guards by Yuan Chwang indicates that foot soldiers were important at that time. G.P. Sinhā, suggests that the king pinned their faith more in foot soldiers and cavalary than in elephants.[272] But this view seems to be erroneous as Bana in his account states that when inspecting his army the king is said to have been riding an elephant.[273] Moreover, the Loichanda plates of Dhruvasena I, v.s. 206, describes the king as a lion who defeated single handedly, by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of his enemies.[274]

The importance of army under the Maitrakas can be seen from the fact that the founder of the dynasty, Bhatārka, is styled as a Senāpati. The Maitraka army consisted of hereditary (*maula*), mercenary (*bhrita*), allied (*mitra*) and guild (*śreni*) soldiers, who had been kept under control by the king. This presupposes a long standing

army, for otherwise how could the Maitrakas be believed to have survived and strengthened their sway, in times of such great political upheavals and turmoil.

From this time onwards the military camps turned into a replica of the royal capital. This was also the case with the Maitrakas. We find a word *'homba'* in the grant of Śilāditya I. From the context it appears that it must have been either a cantonment or a garden in which the king had pitched his tent in his compaign.[275] Similar camps at Khetaka, Valditapalli, Pulindaka, Vijaya skandhāvara are commonly found in the Maitraka inscriptions. Lastly, as the *Āryа-Mañjuśri-mūla-kalpa* envisages, the Maitraka kings also maintained a navy[276].

Taking an overall view of the administration under the Maitrakas, it can be concluded that though the *modus vivandi* of the Maitraka monarchs was luxurious, whereby they celebrated the royal functions with great pomp and eclat and discharged their duties with great elan, in reality they were not highhanded. In a period when all that was voluntary became obligatory, the Maitraka kings catered to the needs of their subjects. That the Maitraka state was a welfare one can be deciphered from their epigraphs which frequently mention that 'the king's wealth was being lived upon by the poor and helpless people'[277]. Further, the ruler is said to have 'given refuge to all who sought it' and 'fulfilled the desires of his people by behaving like a kalpataru'. He was depicted as 'a remover of calamities which might oppress his subjects'.[278]

Thus the Maitraka kings were simple and straight forward and it seems that the *modus operandi* of these noble and charitable monarchs was based on the conventional notion of *abhigrāmika*

guṇah[279], *i.e.*, virtues like, good birth, steadfastness in misfortune and prosperity, youth, a good disposition, civility, absence of dilatoriness, truthfulness, respect for the elders, gratitude, having favourable luck, wisdom, being independent of trifles, capability of subduing hostile neighbouring chiefs, firmness, far sightedness, energy, purity, having high goals, modesty and firm devotion to religion and Justice.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 169.
2. Ravishankar, T.S. and Jai Prakāsh, 'Loichanda Plates of Dhruvasena I', *JESI* XXIII, p. 144.
3. Fleet, *op.cit.*, III, p. 182.
4. *ibid*, p. 182 and 184.
5. *ibid* 185.
6. *ibid*, 168.
7. *idem.*
8. Though Princesses Dudda and Mimma are mentioned in the Maitraka epigraphs, the female members of the royal family seldom figured prominently in the affairs of State.
9. In western India the practice of brother to brother succession was known even earlier. When all brothers were dead the crown passed to the eldest son of the eldest brother. The practice was common among the western *kśatrapas*. (Rapson, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins- Āndhras, Western Kśatrapas* etc.), p. cliii.
10. 'Alina Plates of Kharagraha II', *IA*, VII, p. 76ff, 'Kapaḍavanja Plates of Dhruvasena III', *EI*, I, p.85.
11. Karagraha I was the younger brother of Śilāditya I, 'Amreli Plate Inscription of Kharagraha I, vs. 279, *IEAR*, 1959-60, p.34.
12. *EI*, XXI, pp. 116ff.
13. *Viṣhṇu Purāṇa*,V, Chapter XXX, Hall's edition of Wilson's translation, Vol. V, p. 97ff; *CII*, III, p. 182.

14. The earliest instance of duel form of government is found in the rule of the Spārtans. Usually the state of Spārta was ruled by two kings. (Cf. Bhandārkar, D.R., *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 88).

15. For details on Viṣṇusena and his probable relation with the Maitrakas, see, Sircār, D.C., 'Charter of Viṣṇusena', *Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems of Ancient and Medieval India*, Chapter XIII, pp. 176-183.

16. Fleet, *CII*, III, pp. 169, 199.

17. *ibid*, p. 183.

18. *idem*.

19. According to the traditional Hindu ideal, the ancient Indian state comprised of seven elements. They are the *Svāmin* (king), the *amātya* or the officials, the *janapada* or *rāṣtrapada* or the territory, the *durga* or the fort, the *koṣa* or the treasury, the *daṇda*(*bala*) or the judiciary and/or the army and the *mitra* or the allies. These elements were called technically the *Prakṛtis* of the *rajya* – *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, I, 353; *Manu Smṛti*, IX, 294; *Arthaśāstra*, VI; 1, also Bhadārkar, D.R., *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 65, 68-70.

20. All the inscriptions of the Valabhi emperors, invariably begin with the verse '*Maula-bhṛta-mitra-śreṇi-bal-avapta-rājyaśriḥ*' which means that the great king Bhatārka acquired the Goddess of royalty through the strength of array of his hereditary servants and friends. (*CII* III, p. 167-68). The term *śreṇi* which occurs in the verse means a guild and it seems that the guilds were held in high esteem during the Maitraka times as they regularly supplied soldiers to the king during the times of

emergency. Again, an epigraph of Viṣṇusena (probably a Maitraka king), dated 592 A.D., shows the importance attached to the guilds in the administrative system of western India during the period. The charter mentions the *āchāra-Sthitipatra*, a long list of regulations which look like prevalent customary laws without much modification, which, the king, being approached by the community of merchants, apparently of Lohāta his head quarter, allowed to be utilised for protecting and favouring their own people (*loka-saṁgrahanugṛahartham)*. King Viṣṇusena is also stated to have approved other āchāras, handed down from ancient times. (For details of the charter see Sircār, D.C., *Studies in the Political and Administrative systems of Ancient and Medieval India*, Chapter XIII, pp. 176-182).

21. The expression *rājakiyanāmahasta-prakśepaniya*, used in the epigraphs of the Maitraka kings depict that the gifted villages were not interfered by royal officers and thus the donees enjoyed some sort fo administrative powers in their own areas. (For the expression see *J.U.B* (N.S.), I, pp. 18, 27, 31, 34, 56 etc.) Further, in central and western India some royal donors conferred upon the grantees the right of trying cases in the donated villages. Their grants use the term *abhyāntara-siddhi* which has been interpreted variously (*CII*, IV, No. 431; p. 154, f.n. 1). It makes sense if it is taken as the adjudication of internal disputes in the village. Sharmā, R.S., considers this term to be the counterpart of *Sādasaparādhaḥ*, which occurs frequently in the Maitraka grants (*Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, p. 340). But he make a distinction between the two terms and says that while the latter limits the

grantee's jurisdiction to criminal cases only, the former extends it to civil cases as well.

22. *Yajñavalkya Smṛti* II, 312.

23. *EI*, I, p. 85.

24. *IA*, I, p. 17.

25. Gadre, A.S., The Virdi Copper Plates of Kharagraha I', *PTOC*, 7th Session, pp. 659-676.

26. The titles of the officers and the administrative divisions under the Maitrakas are notices in their inscriptions listed in Bhandārkar's List, p. 395, *EI*, XX. The original references could be traced in *EI*, I, pp. 87ff; VIII, pp. 108ff; XI, pp.81ff, 104ff., 174ff.; XVI, pp17ff; XVII, pp.105ff; XXI, pp.179ff; XXII, p.114ff, 164ff; also *CII*, III, p. 166ff; *IA*, XV, pp.186ff. etc.

27. Hultzsch ,E., 'The Nogawā Plates of Dhruvasena II', *EI*, VIII, No. 20, p. 189. Monier Williams treats *Rājaputra* as a prince, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 873.

28. Fleet, J.F., *CII*, III, p. 157; Vogel equates *rājasthāniya* to the chief justice, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, p. 127.

29. Bühler, G., 'Grants from Valabhi', *IA*, p. 207.

30. Diskalkar, D.B., 'Valabhi Copper Plate Inscription of Dharasena I', *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 117.

31. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 82; Tripāthi, R.S., *History of Kanauj*, p. 138.

32. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 273. The author further adds that probably he was a subordinate ruler; also Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 874 (-A Viceroy or a Governor).

33. Fleet, J.F., *CII*, III, p. 157 and note.
34. The term is derived from *Amātya*, i.e., a minister and sometimes a councillor, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. 1, p. 82. The word is generally coupled with *Kumāra* or prince (*idem*).
35. *CII*, III, No. I, p. 16.
36. *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1903-04, p. 103.
37. *EI*, X, No. 12, p. 50, Altekar also hold that *Kumāramātya* was an '*amātya* since his youth' – *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 339.
38. *PTOC*, 6th Session, 1930, p. 212.
39. *Age of Imperial Guptas*, pp. 73-74; Sircār, D.C. also thought that the *Kumāramātya's* were *amātyas* enjoying the status of *Kumāras*, and an officers cadre mainly composed of the junior members of the royal family (*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 1966, p. 181); also Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, p. 123.
40. *EI*, XI, p. 176.
41. Dikshitār, V.R.R., *The Gupta Polity*, p. 251.
42. Majumdār, R.C. and Altekar, A.S., *The Vakātaka Gupta Age*, p. 282.
43. *CII*, III, p. 170.
44. Diskālkar, D.B., *op.cit.*, p. 117.
45. *B.G.*, I, pt. I, p.82.
46. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 359.
47. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 12.
48. Majumdār, R.C. and Altekar, A.S., *The Vakātaka Gupta Age*, p. 279.
49. *Rājatarangiṇi*, VIII, 2010; cf. Stein's translation, II, pp. 291ff.
50. Maity, S.K., *op.cit.*, p. 62.

51. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 101.
52. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, See *dranga* (p. 500).
53. *IA*, IV, p. 106; cf. *CII*, III, p. 169, f.n. 6.
54. *IA*, IV, 'The Valā Plates of Guhasena', p. 175.
55. *idem.*
56. Sinhā, G.P., *Post Gupta Polity* (A.D. 500-750), p. 108.
57. *EI*, XIX, p. 303 (An unpublished grant of Dhruvasena I); *EI*, XXXV, No. 38, p. 282.
58. *CII* , III, No. 22, p. 100.
59. Sankalia, H.D., *AOG*, p. 200, f.n. 4.
60. *B.G.*, I, pt. 1, p. 82.
61. Dikshitār, V.R.R., *op.cit.*, p. 244.
62. *CII*, *op.cit.*, p. 170, f.n.1.
63. Sankalia, *op.cit.*, p. 200, f.n. 5.
64. *EI*, III, no. 46, p. 318ff; XIX, no. 55, p. 302ff.
65. Bühler, G., 'Grants from Valabhi', **A** – 'The Grant of Dhruvasena I', *IA*, V, p. 204ff.
66. *EI*, XIII, No. 30, p. 339.
67. *IA*, IV., p. 175.
68. Sankalia, H.D., *op.cit.*, p. 200, f.n. 6.
69. *CII*, III, p. 170, n. 2 (The Maliya Copper Plate of Dharasena II).
70. *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 466-67, Sircār, D.C. in *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (p. 81) also describes *Dandapāśika* as a police man and an officer in charge of punishment.
71. *B.G.*, I, pt 1, p. 82.
72. *EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp. 80ff.
73. *IA*, VI, 1877, pp. 9-12.

74. *IA*, IV, p. 104ff (Valā Plates of Dhruvasena I); *EI*, p. 105ff (Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvasena I).
75. Sankalia, *op.cit.*, p. 200, f.n. 7; Sircar, D.C., *op.cit.*, p. 85.
76. *ibid*, Hitherto the term has occurred only in this a work of Sankalia. According to Monier Williams *Avalokaka* was a spy or an observer, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
77. The term occurs in only one Maitraka inscription. *IA*, VII, p. 68. (Plate II, Verse 4).
78. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 21; Monier Williams also describes *Vārtam* as a path, road or way, *op.cit.*, p. 925.
79. *B.G.*, *op.cit.*, p. 82.
80. Sankalia, *op.cit.*, p. 200, f.n. 8.
81. *IA*, XV, p. 187 (A new grant of Dharasena II); also *EI*, XI, p. 80.
82. *ibid*, n. 9.
83. *B.G.*, I, pt. 1, p. 82. It further says that in ancient India there were two ways of catching thieves. One was to set a thief to catch another, and other to follow the tracking system. The second practice was in vogue in Gujarāt in our period. Monier Williams also treats *Chaurodhareṇika* as a thief catcher or exterpatior, *op.cit.*, p. 403.
84. Majumdār, M.R., *Cultural History of Gujarāt*, p. 171.
85. Bühler, G., 'Additional Valabhi Grants', No. X, *IA*, VII, p. 68ff, Plate II, Verse 4.
86. Sankalia, H.D., *AOG*, p. 200, f.n. 10; He describes the official as, 'one who goes against'.
87. *B.G.*, I., Pt. 1, p. 82; also Virji, *AHS*, p. 241.
88. *JBBRAS* (N.S.), I, 1925, pp. 37-40.

89. *IA*, VII, p.76.

90. Tripāthi, R.S., *History of Kanauj*, p. 140. Vogel also holds that this officer was concerned with the administration of justice *(Antiquities of Chambā State*, p. 127; Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, p. 992).

91. *History and Culture of Indian People*, III, p. 348. Diskālkar, D.B. is also of the same view. *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 35.

92. *EI*, I, p. 118.

93. Monier Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 686, describes the *pramatri* as 'one who has a correct notion or idea.' Macdonell, A.A., substitutes 'Judgement' for 'idea'. Other meanings given by both are 'authority' and 'performer of the mental operation resulting in a true conception'. (cf. Devahuti, D., *Harṣha –A Political Study*, p. 185).

94. Devahuti, D., *op. cit.*, p. 185.

95. II, 3,40; *Arthaśāstra* also mentions *āyukta*, II, 5. Kamaṇḍaka however treats *āyuktaka* as a governor of district or subdivision, *Nitisāra*, V, 82.

96. *CII.* III, No.1., p. 5.

97. *Select Inscriptions*, No.2, p. 359.

98. 'Valā Plates of Dhruvasena I', *IA*, IV, p. 104 f; also 'The Navalakhi Plates of Śilāditya I', *EI*, XI, p.175.

99. Sinhā, GP, *op. cit.*, ch. V, p. 117.

100. Sharmā, R.S., *Indian Feudalism*, p. 23.

101. *EI*, XI, p. 175.

102. *IA*, XV , p. 187; *EI*, XXXVII, p. 69, verse 12 etc.

103. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Ephigraphy*, p. 359.

104. *Raghuvaṁsa*, V, 29, 103.

105. Saletore R.A., *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 261.

106. Bhadkāmkar H.M. 'Navalakhi Plates of Śilāditya I, Gs. 286', *EI*, XI,, No. 17, p. 176.

107. *EI*, XVII, No. 7(A), p. 109.

108. Sinhā, G.P., *op.cit.*, p. 118.

109. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 375.

110. *I.A*, V, p. 207; *JUB*, IV, p. 5; *E. I.*, XXX, no. 30

111. 'Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription of SkandaGupta', *CII*, III, No. 12, pp. 47-51; Sircār, D.C., *Select Inscriptions*, No. 4, p. 264; This inscription mentions *Śaulkika*; also Sinhā G.P., *op. cit.*, p. 121.

112. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, p. 127.

113. Altekar A.S., *op. cit.*, p. 229; *CII*, III, No. 60, p. 257

114. *CII*, III, No. 12, p. 52, f. n. 2; also *Arthaśhāstra*, Ch. II and XXI. Scholars like Sankalia (*AOG*, p. 200. f. n.11); Jha, D.N., (*Revenue system in Post Maurya and Gupta Times*, p. 170-71); Sinha, G.P. (*op. cit.*, p. 121); and Bhagwānlāl Indrāji (*B. G.*, I, pt. 1, p. 82) also are of the same view.

115. The term *anut panna samudgrāhaka* or *anut panna dāna samud grāhaka* occurs in the Valabhi Grant of Guhasena; Bühler, G, *IA*, V, p. 206 ff.

116. *Bombay Gazetter*, I, pt. 1, p. 82.

117. Sankalia, H.D., *op. cit.*, p. 200, f. n. 12.

118. This shows that during the period, taxes that were essentially voluntary became obligatory. For the above term see- Majumdār, R.C., *The Classical Age*, p. 354; also Ghoṣhāl,

Hindu Revenue System (hereafter *HRS*), pp. 221-22; also Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 25.

119. Most of the scholars are unanimous in this regard. See Sinha, G.P., *op. cit.*, p. 89; Majumdār R.C., and Altekar, A.S., *Vakātaka Gupta Age*, p. 279; Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 343; Chakraborti, H., *India as Reflected in the Inscriptions of the Gupta Period*, p. 194 etc. The term is also defined as the 'minister of peace and war'.

120. Sinhā, G.P., *op. cit.*,p. 89.

121. Though the terms *Mahāsandhivigrahika* and *Sandhivigrahika* are considered to be inter changeable; scholars like Altekar, A.S. think that the former was the head under whom several of the latter worked (*op. cit.*, p. 343).

122. Bühler, G., '*The Alina Plates of Dharasena* II A.D. 589,' *IA*, VII, p. 70-73.

123. Bühler, G., '*A Grant of Guhasena of Valabhi* dt. A.D. 565', *IA*, IV, p. 175.

124. On the basis of old texts like the *Yajñavalkya Smṛti* and *Mitākśarā*, Burnell has tried to prove that the common usage required that the *Sandhivigrahika* should be entrusted with the task of drafting a royal grant, *Elements of South Indian Paleography*, 1874, pp. 64-66.

125. *EI*, XXXV, p. 282.

126. *C.I.I*, III, 1888, p. 165 ff.

127. Sinhā, G.P., *op. cit.*, p. 159-160.

128. *IA*, IV, 1875, p. 104 f.

129. *Cf*, Virji, *AHS*, p. 234.

130. *IA*, XV, p. 187 ff; *EI*, XXXVII, p. 167 ff etc.

131. *IA*, IV, p. 106.

132. *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, I, 334-36.

133. *Mṛchchhakatikā*,V,158, Bombay Sanksrit Series, Vol. I, p. 223, line 63.

134. Bhadkāmkar, *op. cit.*, XI, No. 17, p. 176. In this sense the author avers that the word may denote the attendants of the king who are very likely to misuse their position by being harmful to others. Or they may be the servants whose duty is to sing the praises of the king and his forefathers.

135. *ibid*,, p. 176, note f.

136. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 51.

137. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*,p. 361.

138. cf. Sinhā, G.P., *op. cit.*, p. 108

139. Sircār, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 and 68.

140. Praṇ Nāth, *A Study in Economic Conditions in Ancient India*, p. 60.

141. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. 1, p. 81

142. Chakraborti, H., *op. cit.*, p. 207. The author uses *Chhatra* (instead of *Chāta*), explained in the sense of 'umbrella bearer'

143. Vogel, *Antiquities of Champā State*, p. 132.

144. Pathaka, K.B., 'Abhona Plates of Śankaragaṇa, Kālachuri Samvat, 347', *EI*, IX, p. 296 explains the expression as meaning not to be encoroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies.

145. *IA*, VII, No. 11, p. 70 ff (A grant of Dharasena II, Plate II, verse 2)

146. Sankalia, H.D., *op. cit.*, p. 200, f.n. 13.

147. *IA*, VII, p. 81; *EI*, XXXVII, p. 168 etc.

148. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 100, f. n. 3.

149. *EI*, XI, p. 177.

150. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 6-7.

151. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 14.

152. e.g. Bühler, G., 'A grant of Śilāditya VI, *IA*, VII, p. 81.

153. *Mahāpratihāra* or the 'chief door keeper' occurs in various Maitraka epigraphs, e.g., *IA*, VII, p. 179 ff; *EI*, III, p. 318 ff(The Gaṇeśhgad Plates of Dhruvasena I, GS. 207)

154. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 358.

155. *EI.*, XXXV, p. 282; *IA*, VII, p. 70 ff; *IA*, XIV, p. 327 etc.

156. *EI*, XI, p. 178.

157. In *JRAS*, Pts 1-2, 1963, pp. 21-37.

158. Devahuti, D., *op. cit.*, p. 163. The *Arthaśāstra* (Chapters, 3, 16 and 17) however states that in Mauryan times the term *sāmanta* denoted an independent neighbour.

159. Dikshitār, V.R.R., *op. cit.*, p. 244.

160. 'The Inscription of Dhruvasena I', *IA*, IV, p. 105.

161. Devahuti, D., *op. cit.*, p. 164. Again in the records of the Maitrakas the titles of *sāmanta* and *dutaka* often go together, e.g., 'The Valabhi plate of Dharasena II', *JBBRAS* (N.S.), I. p. 24.

162. This official is mentioned in the Valabhi copper plate inscription of Dharasena I; Diskālkar, D.B., *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 110, 112; *I.A*, VI, p. 9.

163. *Hastya* means an elephant while *aśva* means a horse.

164. *IA*, VI, p. 9; *IA*, X, p. 28 etc.

165. Altekar, A.S., *EI*, I, No.11, p. 387; also Sinhā, G.P., *op. cit.*, p. 124.

166. *E I*, XXXV, p. 282.

167. *C.I.I*, III, p. 169, f.n. 7.

168. *Rājatarangiṇi*, tr. By. Stein, VII, 659.

169. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. 1, p. 81.

170. *CII*, III, plate II, line 76, p. 180.

171. *CII*, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

172. *idem.*

173. Saletore R.A., *op. cit.*, p. 243-248

174. Beni Prasād, *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*, pp. 257-260.

175. *idem.*

176. *idem*; Also Saletore R.A., *op. et. loc. cit.*

177. cf. Virji, *AHS.*, p. 234.

178. *Dhruvabhatta* or *Dhrubhata* was the title given to the Maitraka king Śilāditya VII (Buhler 'A Grant of Śilāditya VI', *IA*, VII, p. 80)

179. The king could be Śilāditya VI or VII; *C.I.I*, III, p. 173 ff.

180. *E.I*, XI, No. 17, p 174 ff.

181. *ibid*, XXII, No. 36, p. 114. In a grant of Dhruvasena II, Kharagraha who is *rajaputra* is also the *dutaka EI*, VIII, No. 20, p. 188-89

182. Verma, Nita, *Society and Economy in Ancient India*, p. 65.

183. Jha, D.N., *Revenue System in Post Maurya and Gupta Times*, p. 139.

184. Sukthankar V.S., 'Bhāvnagar Plates of Dhruvasena I, Vs. 210' *E.I*, XV, 1919-20, p. 257.

185. Bhandārkar, *op. cit.*, p. 45; *EI*, III, 1894-95, p. 319.

186. Māndalik, *JBBRAS*, XI, p. 355; *EI*, VIII, p. 188 ff.

187. Bühler, 'A Valabhi copper plate grant, V.S., 310', *IA*, VI, 1877, p. 9; Ācharya, *H.I.G.* (in Gujarāti), I, No. 45.

188. Gadre, 'Five Valā Plates', *JUB*, III, p. 83.

189. Fleet, *IA*, XV, p. 187. Sankalia has taken the words *praveśya*, *bheda* and *bhūmi* occurring in the Maitraka records as units of administration, but Virji seems to disagree when she avers that from the context they do not appear to be so. (*AHS*, p. 235)

190. Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 179

191. Gadre A.S., *op. cit.*, III, p. 87

192. Diskālkar 'The Valabhi Grants' *JBBRAS* (N.S.), I, p. 17 ff; Bühler G, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 67 ff.

193. Sten Konow, 'Five Valabhi Plates-Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvasena I, Vs. 210', *E I*, XI, p. 112.

194. Bühler, *op.cit.*, VII, pp. 70-77

195. Fleet, *op. et. loc. cit.*; *BPSI*, p. 30 ; Ācharya G.V., *op. cit.*, I, No. 38.

196. Sukthānkar V.S., *op. cit.*, XVII, p. 106 ff.

197. *idem.*

198. Keilhorn, F. 'A copper plate grant of Śilāditya I of Valabhi', *IA*, XIV, p. 328.

199. *J B B R A S*, (N.S.), I, p. 73.

200. Bühler, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 339.

201. *EI*, III, No. 46, p. 323

202. *ibid*, XVII, no. 7, pp. 107-8.

203. Macdonell, A.A. and Keith, A.B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, I, p. 96.

204. *Arthaśāstra*, II, Chater I, 46.

205. From the Valabhi and Gurjara inscriptions of Gujarāt and Saurāṣtra, it appears that some kind of village council was evolved during the period. On the strength of these grants we can say that the village communities possessed a council of elders, who on their part used to appoint a formal executive committee of their own, variously known as *Mahattarādhikarins* (महतराधिकारिन or superior officer) or *adhi karimahattaras*, (अधिकारी महतर or officer superior), either expression meaning 'village elders in office or power' (Altekar, A.S., *Village Communities in Western India.* pp. 20-21; also Majumdār, M.R., *Cultural History of Gujarat*, p. 174)

206. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 103.

207. The term occurs in a number of Maitraka epigraphs, eg., 'The Kaira Plates of Dharasena IV', *IA*, XV, pp. 339; 'Alina Plates of Kharagraha II', *IA*, VII, pp. 76-79 etc.

208. According to the *Śukranitisāra* (I, 193) an area of land consisting of half a village was called *palli*, and half of *palli* a *kumbha* (cf. Kane P.V., *op. cit.*, III, p. 154).

209. Sankalia, H.D., *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarāt*, p. 53.

210. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 239

211. Bühler, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 174.

212. Diskālkar, 'Bantia plates of Dharasena II of Valabhi of v.s. 257', *JBBRAS*, (N.S.), III, p. 184; *EI*, XXI, p. 179

213. Hultzsch, 'A Valabhi Grant of Dhruvasena III, S. 334', *EI*, I, 1892, pp. 86 ff.

214. *Kanarese English Dictionary*, p. 1015.

215. *IA*, XV, p. 187.

216. Kittel, *Kanarese English Dictionary* (Mangalore), 1894, p. 1015. It is quite surprising that a market town consisted of villages. Dikshitar suggests that probably market town was the centre or nucleus of a group of adjoining villages for the purpose of administration of local affaris. (*op. cit.*, p. 238)
217. Dikshitār V.R.R., *op. cit.*, p. 234
218. *IA*, VI, p. 12 mentions the Bamvavānaka sthali, Nimbakūpa sthali and the Kadamba padra sthali.
219. *ibid*, p. 15
220. *ibid*, p. 12. A village is some times mentioned as being a part of a *sthali*, like it is in the Valabhi grant of Dharasena I, viz., *maheśvara dasenaka grāma dhara ketasthalyam.*
221. Fleet, J.F., 'A New Grant of Dharasena II of Valabhi', *IA*, XV, p. 187.
222. cf. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 236
223. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, 1941, pp. 199-200
224. Virji, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-36.
225. Sankalia, H.D., *op. cit.*, 1941, pp. 55-56.
226. Virji says that *pathaka* appears to have been uncommon in Saurastra (*op. cit.*, p. 238). But the view appears to be erroneous as we come across the term frequently in the Maitraka grants.
227. *IA*, VII, p. 72; *IA*, XV, p. 187.
228. This shows that *Pathaka* was a sub division of *Viśaya*
229. *IA*, VI, p. 15.
230. *EI*, XXI, No. 30 (b)
231. *IA*, VII, p. 75. This inscriptions proves that *Pathaka* was a sub-division of *Āhāra.*

232. *ibid*, p. 85

233. *EI*, XI, p. 81; *JASB*, VII, p. 968.

234. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 235-36; Nihārranjan Ray is of the openion that a place denoted with its boundaries and surroundings seems to have been called a *pathaka* and any petty division of a locality without any specified boundary, a *sthali (IHQ*, IV, 1928, p. 453 ff)

235. *JBBRAS*, X, p. 79; *IA*, I, p. 16.

236. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

237. *idem.*

238. Sircār, D.C., *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 379. *Paraganā* was a subdivision of a district.

239. Monier Williams, *op.cit.*, pp. 614-15.

240. Kielhorn, 'A Valabhi grant of Dharasena IV, dated *Samvat* 330 (c. A.D. 650)', IA, VII, p. 79.

241. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

242. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, 1941, p. 200.

243. Raychaudhuri, H.C., *PHAI*, p. 328

244. The word *āhāra* is derived from roots *a+hr* meaning to fetch, bring or offer (in the present context) some sort of food, the produce of land, and later other taxes. (Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, āhāra). Hence, *āhāra* seems to be a unit of administration both fiscal and political in nature.

245. *EI*, III, No. 46., p. 323.

246. *EI*, XVII, No. 7, p. 107-8

247. Virji; Nitā Verma and Sankalia, all seem to agree with this view. In fact Sankalia, specifically remarks that *āhāra* was smaller than *viśaya*, while the latter was, perhaps, equally large

as the *bhukti* (*AOG*, p. 200). Further he rejects the status of *bhukti* as well by saying that once the whole of Saurāṣtra was called a *viśaya*, which if it were used in a technical sense would imply that even *bhukti* was smaller than a *viśaya* (*idem*, note 1). Virji also avers that though under the Guptas the *viśaya* ranked only after the *rāṣtra* or *desa*; it (*viśaya*) was the largest administrative unit under the Maitrakas. (*op. cit.*, p. 236). But it is curious to note that the term has been generally accepted to mean a district.

248. Bühler, 'Inscriptions of Kāvi', *IA*, V, p. 114.

249. *ibid*, XI, p. 112.

250. *ibid*, XI, p. 159.

251. *ibid*, XVI, p. 24

252. With regard to the Gujarāt Kāthiāwāḍ region Sankalia writes, 'it is doubtful if any part of Kāthiāwāḍ or Gujarāt was named a *bhukti* as in Bihār and Bengāl'. (*AOG*, p. 194, 200)

253. Hultzsch, 'Two Grant of Dhruvasena II', *EI*, VIII, p. 188-89.

254. Bühler, 'Additional Valabhi Grants', *IA*, VII, p. 70-71; *CII*, III, p. 173.

255. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

256. Majumdār, R.C. and Altekar, A.S., *A New History of the Indian People*, VI, p. 283

257. A district has an average area of 11340 sq. kms. or (4430 sq. miles); while a commissioner's division has 4 to 6 districts. Dikshitār, V.R.R., is also of the view that *bhukti* was bigger than *viśaya* (*op. cit.*, p. 231). But Sankalia holds opposite view and he opines that a *bhukti* was smaller than a *viśaya (ibid)*.

258. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp. 179 ff.

259. *EI*, XVIII, no. 7 (A), pp. 107-8
260. *ibid*, III, No. 46, p. 323
261. *ibid*, XVIII, pp. 107-8.
262. Sukthānkar, *op. cit.*, XVII, p. 106-7.
263. Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, XI, pp. 110 ff.
264. 'A grant of Dhruvasena', *IA*, IV, p. 105 and 'A grant of Guhasena', *ibid*, p. 174
265. Fleet, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 187.
266. Bühler G., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 67 ff.
267. Diskālkar, D.B., *op. cit.*, I, p.l 17ff.
268. *ibid*, p. 242
269. *ibid*, p. 292
270. Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82.
271. *Harṣacharita*, text, 207; translated Cowell and Thomas, p. 203
272. Sinhā, G.P., *op. cit.*, p. 217.
273. *Harṣacharita*, *op. et. loc. cit.*
274. *JESI* , Vol. XXIII, p. 144.
275. 'Dhank plates of Śilāditya I, A.D. 609', *IA*, IX, 1880, pp. 238 f.
276. *AMMK*, verse 15-16, Jayaswāl, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
277. *JESI*, *op. cit.*, p. 144
278. *EI*, XI, p. 117.
279. For details see *CII*, III, p. 154, note. 1, p. 169, note 2; Kamaṇḍaka's *Nitisāra*, IV, V, 6 to 8 (Calcutta edition, p. 78)

CHAPTER VI

THE MAITRAKA ECONOMY

Action is an indispensable part of human nature. Some times even non action is an activity. But for an action to become meaningful, it has to be harnessed properly. All human activities have an economic aspect as all these activities are undertaken by a human being either to earn means for living or for satisfying his wants. This action of 'earning and spending' is called economic activity and the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses, is generally termed as economics.[1]

In yesteryears the conception of history has seen a complete change, and it no longer remains a mere catalogue of royal activities. The history of today is more concerned about the activities and socio-economical milieu of the ordinary people. Contemporary history has opened up new vistas as the downward filtration theory or the 'history from above' has given way to 'history from below'. The efforts of these common people who are the real instruments of production and civilization and by whose concerted labour the state and society have become prosperous, have come to the forefront in the annals of modern historians.

Satisfaction of human wants is an age old problem. In fact, the early economic effort was started by ancient man to fulfil his basic needs. But as the economic progress took place his needs and desires also expanded with the changed context. As life became more complex economics gradually developed as a science of statecraft, and it is believed that all early economy was essentially political.[2] Still further, with the transformation of life from 'static to dynamic',

economy ceased to be just an instrument for collection of revenue in the hands of the royalty. It gained much more importance and the need arose to define more precisely the functions of the state. Now wealth was identified as an institution that can serve as a panacea to all individual and social problems and the study of wealth came to be emphasized.

It has often been argued that the ancient Indian society was not acquisitive enough. Too much importance was attached to the moral and spiritual values and need for austerity was impressed upon. But in actual practice all these tenets were discarded and great significance was attached to sound economic condition. Thus in the early works 'poverty' is described as 'living death'[3]. During the second stage of life (gṛhastha āśrama) the householder was encouraged to build up family fortunes and to spend a part of them at least on the pleasure of senses.

Though the references to the economic accomplishments of ancient Indians are scarce[4], the economic history upto the time of the Kuṣāṇas and the Śungas, has been quite adequately dealt with by a number of scholars. In the last few decades efforts have been made to study the economic fabric of India from the Gupta period onwards. As regards the Maitrakas, who occupied parts of western India in the days of the later Gupta rulers and extended their sway for the best part of three countries, the information and references are scanty. Though the few works dealing with the economic conditions of western India during the various phases of the Gupta age[5] throw welcome light on the material culture of the period under Guptan regime, they hardly touch the topic of the Maitraka economy. Whatever remarks or notices available are fleeting, sporadic and just coincidental.[6] The

biggest drawback of these studies is, however, that none of the scholars has succeeded in making an intensive and integrated study of the socio-cultural and economic conditions existing within the dominions of the Maitrakas.

Economic history of a period deals with the material advancement, economic progress and prosperity of the people. Consequently, to study the economic life and progress upon which rests the civilization of a region, one has to study its history. A region is considered to be civilized if its people know the art of writing; have a system for maintaining order and collecting taxes, and possess social classes and specialists for performing priestly, administrative and producing functions. Above all, a civilized society should be economically vibrant and hence should be able to produce enough to support not only the actual producers consisting of peasants and artisans but also consumers who are not engaged in production. All these elements were present in a large part of western India during the Maitraka hegemony on a recognizable scale.

This chapter will try to reconstruct the economic fabric of western India in the time of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. For this purpose, an integrated study of the epigraphic, literary and numismatic evidences is attempted in this work. Though proper emphasis has been laid on the study of coins and the contemporary literature; the Maitraka inscriptions which hitherto constitute the most significant source of our information in this regards have been primarily relied upon for the study of the Maitraka economy. Some of the salient features which will be taken into account while preparing a sketch of the Maitraka economy are: a large scale mechanism of land grants, the nature, extent and tenure of the

assignments, quantum of land donated, privileges granted to the donees, ownership of land, fragmentation of land holdings, a relative paucity of coins and the impact that the land grants had on the existing economy. Further, an attempt has been made to find answers to related questions pertaining to the position of the peasantry and the demands on them, agricultural production and irrigational facilities, the advancements made in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Alongside this, the extent of trade, modes of transport, functions of the guilds, taxes and cesses and the foreign contacts of the Maitrakas will also be deplored. The development of a new agrarian structure and the emergence of quasi-feudalistic tendencies under the Maitrakas constitute an indispensable part of this research.

A. Land Grants

The central factor that transformed the ancient Indian socio-economic set up was the practice of land grants. That the Maitrakas also donated land on a large scale can be inferred from the fact that more than a hundred of their land grant inscriptions have been found thus far. From the epigraphic evidences it can be gathered that the land was granted either in favour of an individual or a number of persons. Thus, while on one hand an inscription of Dhruvasena III records the grant of village of Pattapadraka to a brāhmaṇa Bhattibhata[7]. On the other hand, the Navalakhi plates of Śilāditya I states that the gift was made to forty four Brāhmaṇas who had immigrated from Saṁghapuri.[8] As the Maitrakas believed in religious toleration some of their grants mention Buddhist donees as well. A grant of Dhruvasena II records land donation to a community of Buddhist monks.[9] The plates of king Guhasena also mention the grant

of land to a community of Buddhist monks who resided in the Vihāra established by Dudda in Valabhi.[10]

The objects of these endowments were wide and varied. Most of the grants were intended for augmenting the religious merit of the donor and his family. Almost every Maitraka land grant speak of the spiritual merit of the donor king and his parents as the main purpose of the donation. There were, of course, other motives behind these endowments which the Valabhi inscriptions have specifically recorded. The Jesar plate of Śilāditya III mentions the *Brāhmadeya* field of the Upādhyāya or preceptor.[11] It indicates that teachers were granted land so as to enable them to pursue their studies and meet their material requirements. This is also corroborated by contemporary literary evidence as according to Yuan Chwang, a portion of royal land was earmarked for giving reward to men of intellectual fame.[12] Alongside, the land was also granted to Buddhist organisations in order to defray the cost of their maintenance and religious practices. The grant of Dharasena I relates the donation of land to a monastery to meet the cost of the worship of Divine Buddhas; of clothing, food and medicine for the Bhikśus and of the repairs of the monastery.[13] The plate of Mahārāja Guhasena of Valabhi notes a similar purpose for grant of land to a community of Buddhist monks residing in the *vihāra* founded by Dudda, with the object of the "acquisition of the books of the holy faith."[14]

Land was also donated for other purposes. The Maliya grant of king Dharasena II (alongwith numerous other Maitraka land grants which mention similar donations) records the grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa Rudrabhuti in order to enable him to perform the *Pañchamahāyajña's* (five great sacrificial rites), namely, *bali*, *chāru*,

vaiśvadeva, agnihotra and *atithi*.[15] A Brāhmaṇa householder was expected to observe these expensive sacrificial rites every day[16] and hence the kings donated land to help the Brāhmaṇas to meet the expenses of these daily rites of *gṛahastha āśrama*. There are occasional references to the assignment of land for maintaining temple worship. The Bhadreniyaka grant of Śilāditya I notes that land was donated for the worship of the Sun-God of the village[17]. Similarly, the Dhank plates of the same ruler grant land to the temple of Śiva, built by Harināṭha at Vātapadra.[18]

According to the Maitraka charters this practice of land donations orginated because the donors, mainly kings wanted to acquire religious merit for themselves and their ancestors while the receivers, mainly priests and monks, needed means for performing religious rites. But the practice really came into being because of a deep laying crisis that affected the ancient social order. The *varṇa* society was based on the producing activities of the peasants who were called vaiśyas and of the labourers who were termed the sudras. These varna barriers were attacked in the third – fourth centuries A.D. because the producing masses were oppressed with heavy taxes and impositions. The two lower orders discarded their functions and attempted to arrogate to themselves the status and functions of the higher orders. Coercive measures were adopted to overcome this crisis but a more important step to meet the situation was to grant land to priests and officials in lieu of salaries and remuneration. Such a practice had the advantage of throwing the burden of collection of taxes and maintenance of law and order in the donated areas on the beneficiaries as they could deal with the recalcitrant peasants on the spot. Further, the practice also brought new lands under cultivation.

These donations given by the Maitraka rulers usually consisted of villages, plots of lands, fields, *vāpis*, *kūpas* and *vāpikās*. In one particular case, a *rupakā*[19] or a silver coin was to be given daily from the state treasury. This rarity of donating money and the fact that only a handful of Maitraka coins have surfaced in the course of excavations and explorations thus far, suggest a pausity of money economy and hence the prevalence of a large scale issuance of land grants.

B. Land Ownership

Though grant of land to deserving donees was not regarded as a preserve of the royal personalities and it was also practiced by state officials, rich merchants and the laity, in general, however, we can decipher from above that the land grants were made, quite exclusively, by the reigning monarch himself. This raises the controversial question of the ownership of land during the Maitraka hegemony.

Land as a free gift of nature occupied a pre-eminent position in the economic structure of ancient Indian society. Being a source of production and the emporium of natural resources, land, formed the principle means of support to the people. Naturally, India being an agricultural country from times immemorial, the people were dependent on land for their livelihood. Thus land was regarded as the bed rock of ancient Indian economy.[20] Ricardo pointed out that it possessed original and indestructible powers.[21] Land was the main source of wealth and property in ancient India. However, the question of ownership of land in ancient India still remains a moot one and there is a great deal of debate among scholars on the issue. The gravity of the problem of land settlement was intensified by the codes

of lawgivers and the numerous land grant charters which hold divergent views in this regard. Whether the land was owned by the state, or by private individuals or by the village communities or there was a diarchical system of joint ownership during the Maitraka times, still remains a contentious issue.

The king has traditionally been regarded as the lord of all land in his state. The notion of royal ownership of land can be gleaned in the works of earlier law givers like Manu[22], Gautama[23], Bṛhaspati[24] and Kātyāyana[25], as also by the epigraphical evidences of the period. The prevalence of a fairly large number of land grant charters recording donations of whole villages or plots of land indicate towards ownership by royal authority. Scholars like R.S. Sharmā[26], S.K. Maity[27], D.C. Sircār[28] and U.N. Ghoṣhāl[29] also indicate that the whole land belonged to the state.

The evidence of royal ownership of land is available in a number of Maitraka inscriptions which speak eloquently about the royal grants of villages[30]. The royal ownership of land is further borne out by the fact that the king could appropriate the land of others when required. The Walā plates of Śilāditya I refers to the grant of land to a Buddhist monastery. The plots granted to this monastery and the names of those who held these plots are specifically mentioned[31]. It seems thus that barring the case of purchase of these lands by the king, he took them away from the tenants in order to make fresh grants. If these previous owners had held the land by legal right of ownership, the king could not have taken away these plots from them. It is argued that land grants may have meant only the transfer of and exemption from revenues which the ruler received, and not the transfer of ownership.[32] This may have been true of many

land grants, but a host of Valabhi inscriptions refer to the actual transfer of ownership. In the Pālitānā plates of Dhruvasena[33], dated A.D. 525-26, it is stated that one hundred and forty *pādavartas* of land which previously belonged to the householder Iśvara was given to another person. A few more records of the same king testify to similar transactions of land[34]. Another inscription of the same dynasty[35] mentions that one hundred and thirty *pādavartas* of land held by a certain Gokśa was granted by the king to another person. Thus it appears that the king could; and he actually did; alienate land from private landholders and introduce new owners, thus superseding the rights of individual landholder.

The theory of royal ownership of land is further embodied in the idea of royal monopoly over the hidden treasures and natural resources yielded by land. Manu remarks that the king was to obtain one-half of the hoards found in the ground because he was the protector and lord of the soil[36]. The same idea is echoed in the works of Nārada[37]and the inscriptions of the Maitrakas. The Walā plates of Śilāditya I[38] refers to the donation of flower gardens (*Puṣpavātikā*) along with other gifts to a Valabhi Buddhist monastery. This indicates that the natural resources provided by the land and hitherto enjoyed by the crown were transferable to donees by royal grant.

Evidence in favour of the king's right over land is further furnished by the accounts of the Chinese travellers Yuan Chwang states that out of the fourfold division of the royal lands, one part was utilized in patronising intellectuals and talented people.[39] I-Tsing also states that Indian scholars received grants of land.[40] Finally, the practice of the grant of rent free land to the different religious institutions was very common custom during Maitraka times King

Guhasena granted land to a community of Buddhist monks.[41] The Bhāvnagar plates of Dharasena IV[42] also refers to the grant of a village to the monks of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. From these accounts regarding the land system, it is clear that the state was regarded as the owner of the land.

As against the royal ownership of soil, there are a host of other scholars who claim that in ancient India traditional setup, village communities exercised joint ownership over land. R.C. Majumdār[43] and A.S. Altekar[44] support this view. Foreign writers like Campbell[45] and Maine[46] also think on the same lines. According to all of them the real owners of land were village corporations or private individuals and families and not the state. Another defender of the corporate ownership is R.G. Basāk, who provides epigraphic evidence (in the form of Faridpur copper plate No. A, of the time of Dharmāditya) in support of his argument. He remarks that the state could not alienate land, "without the consent or approval of the people's representatives, the *Mahattaras* and the business men (*vyavahārins*)[47] of the province and the district and sometimes even the common folk." He further presumed that, "these lands belonged not to the state but to the whole village or the village assemblies, and hence their transfer could not take place without the consent or approval of the latter."[48] He again points out that according to this particular grant, one-sixth of the sale proceeds in this transaction would go to the royal exchequer according to law while the remaining five-sixth of the price must have gone to the village assemblies.[49] The view of Basak is also supported by R.C. Majumdār[50]. Basāk's argument, however, is not convincing. U.N. Ghoṣhāl holds that it is based on the wrong translation of the term *dharma-sadbhāga*[51],

mentioned in the grant, which he took to be one- sixth of the sale proceeds. Moreover, the fact of alienation of land and the introduction of a new owner were evidently matters which concerned the whole village and the consent of the village through its leading men was considered important. Thus the transaction of land sale recorded in the above epigraph does not necessarily indicate communal ownership.

Again, the Maliya copper-plates of Dharasena II[52] is interpreted by J.F. Fleet to suggest some sort of corporate ownership. This charter records the grant of 100 *pādavartas* of land in Śivakapadraka, known as the holding of the cultivator Botaka[53]. Fleet translates *padraka*[54] as common land on the authority of H.H. Wilson[55], according to whom *padar* (i.e., *padr*) is explained as "common land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated." This definition is, however, refuted by most historians. According to D.N. Jha[56] this interpretation of *padraka* is not acceptable in the light of the fact that the suffix *padra*, derived from $\sqrt{pad}$, itself means a village or a place of habitation, besides a road in a village, the earth or a district. H.D. Sankalia[57], drawing evidence from Traikutakas, Kālachuris and Maitraka inscriptions, rightly opines that *padra* did not connote a village, but in fact formed part of a village. When it was suffixed to the name proper, it denoted a place of habitation in, around, or on a road leading to a village. Therefore, *padraka* appended to Śivaka in the Maliya Copper plates of Dharasena II[58] had nothing to suggest joint ownership of land in the Maitraka dominions. Moreover, in the same epigraph it is mentioned that the land belonged to an individual Botaka. How could it then have been commonly owned?

Private or individual ownership of land is also supported by the available evidence relating to the period. The legal literature frequently refers to individual holdings and enjoyment of land. Though Manu states that the king is the lord of the soil (*Bhumerādhipatrihisaḥ*), he specifically refers at one place to the existence of individual proprietary right over land.[59] According to another jurist, Nārada, a householder's home and his field were considered as two fundamentals of his existence and therefore the king could not upset either of them, for these were the roots of the housholders.[60] Bṛhaspati also points out that in suits regarding immovable property, possession for three generations in succession should be considered as a valid claim.[61] It is worth mentioning here that the Maitraka inscriptions usually mention the grant of land to the donee to be enjoyed by his sons, grandsons and further descendants.[62] Though Husan Tsang's statement about the crown land went in favour of royal ownership, his specific mention of fourfold division of the royal land indirectly points to the existence of private ownership.[63]

Coming to the epigraphical evidences, A.S. Altekar tried to make a case in support of private ownership through a grant of Dhruvasena I, which records the grant of 360 *pādvartas* of land, in four different places, to a temple. This would have been unnecessary had the king been the real owner of all land, and in that situation, the king would have given a compact area to the donee.[64] In fact, most of the Maitraka inscriptions refer to the practice of donating scattered fields to the grantee. Thus the Bhāvnagar plate of Dharasena IV record the grant of two fields in the villages of Rakśara putra and Udrapadraka to an assembly of mendicant priests.[65] The Jesar grant of Śilāditya II mentions an endowment of land consisting of three

pieces to a Brāhmaṇa of Valabhi. All these fields were scattered and not linked to each other.[66] Thus it appears that individual land holdings were in vogue and the landholder had a general right to enjoy his land during Maitraka times. Yuan Chwang also remarks that because of the moderation of the state demands, the cultivators practically enjoyed hereditary possession of their holdings.[67]

All this, however, need not be taken to mean the prevalence of full-fledged private ownership, the scope of which seems to have been limited. This according to D.N. Jhā meant that an individual proprietor exercised only a qualified ownership over his land, the king being the its ultimate lord, in which capacity presumably, he levied taxes on the people.[68]

It may, however, be argued that the writings of the period often looked upon taxes as king's wages or remuneration for the service of protection. The *Baudhāyana Dharmasutra*[69] regards the ruler to be an official receiving the revenue being his fee as a *quid pro quo* to the service of protection of his people. Kātyāyana, who belonged to the Gupta period, also states that the royal ownership was restricted to taking one-sixth of the yield as a tax.[70] Again, the notion of *Sitā*, (crown land) which occurs in one of the land grants of Dhruvasena I[71] (A.D., 525) evidently states that the state owned land, which it cultivated and enjoyed and which became an additional source of income of the king. What this, in turn, goes to prove is the fact that private land holdings existed simultaneously with the crown land.

That the ancient Indians were acquainted with individual holdings of land is further substantiated by the various modes, suggested by the law givers, for acquiring property. Manu and Bṛahaspati mention seven legal modes of acquiring wealth.

Brahspati[72] specifically mentions that immovable property is acquired in seven ways, i.e., by learning, purchase and mortgage, valour, marriage, inheritance, and by succession to the property of kinsmen without issue. All these imply the association of the essential qualities of ownership (viz., sale, gift and bequest) with the possession of property. It may be argued that since the jurists refer to the mode of acquiring property in general and not to the land in particular, the above assumption cannot be accepted regarding the ownership of land. But at a time when economy was pre-eminently agricultural, land was considered to be the main source of property and wealth. Hence what was true of the Hindu theory of property[73] also applied to land. The theory recognised the right of an individual to property but only as a member of the society. All property, therefore, was essentially a trust held for the sake of public welfare. The God was the ultimate basis and all rights belonged to him. It was only as his agent that the king claimed to be the owner of the whole land.

Thus from above it can be safely inferred that though the sovereign's right over land, in the period under survey, was a force to reckon with, in general the ownership of land was equally shared by the king as well as the private individuals. B.S. Vermā[74] considers the king to be "the biggest land owner" and not the owner of the entire soil of the country. Lallanji Gopāl also remarks that the king claimed a theoretical ownership of soil[75] and he could donate only those pieces of cultivable land which were in his direct sway and not all pieces owned by individuals.[76] It thus appears that ownership of land was diarchical, not showing bias towards any of the parties during the Maitraka hegemony.

C. Terms, Tenure, Privilages and Immunities regarding the endowments

The Maitraka inscriptions which record the pious endowment to the Brahmanas or other religious institutions often refer to the terms and conditions for holding the piece of land granted to the donee. When the land was granted to a donee, it was made known to all and sundry, including the state officials and the leading citizens. The Valā grant of King Guhasena states that the royal order for the gift of land to a community of Sakya monks was addressed to all his servants and officials, heads of towns, heads of villages, fortune-tellers, soldiers, faithful judges, police officers, revenue collectors, thief catchers, princes and ministers and all others concerned.[77] The reason behind this formal declaration is not difficult to seek. It was a precautionary measure to avoid loopholes in land transactions and thereby avoid future complications. Further, provisions were made regarding the non-interference of any third party in the state of affairs of the land donated. The granted land was not to be meddled with by any one whether a royal officer or a lay man. Again, it was made explicit by the donor king, that all subsequent kings of the family should protect and preserve the grant so that it could be enjoyed without any hinderance by the donee's sons, grandsons and descendants. A host of Maitraka records make provisions to this effect.[78]

The terms like *brāhmadeya*[79], *agrahāra*[80] and *brāhma-deya-sthiya*[81] etc., occur frequently in the inscriptions of the Maitrakas. Though there are suggestions that the state had complete control over the soil, and the tenure of land held by the grantee lasted during his good behaviour only and hence he could be evicted from his land by

the king for undesirable activities, the privileges mentioned above, however, show that the land was held by the grantee in perpetuity. Most of the Maitraka charters gifted land to the donee on a permanent hereditary basis, according to the maxim of *Bhūmicchhidranyāya*[82]. According to the *Bhūmicchhidra* law, the land was granted to the donee to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, the hills and the earth should endure and to be enjoyed by his sons, grandsons and further descendants. No one was allowed to obstruct while the donee enjoyed (this land), cultivated it, caused it to be cultivated or assigned it to others[83] in accordance with the conditions under which he enjoyed the land previously. The term *bhūmicchhidra-nyāya* occurs in the Maliya copper plates of Dharasena[84], Alina land grant charter of Śilāditya VII[85], along with many other inscriptions of the dynasty. These records reveal that according to this maxim the land was granted for eternity not only to the donee but also to his posterity. So it appears that the land was granted *in toto* according to this maxim. But another view is also expressed. The term usually occurs after *puravapratta-deva brāhmadeya varjitaḥ* (it occurs in the Alina charter of Śilāditya VII)[86] and the word is to be linked grammatically with *niśrstah* that follows.[87] All this seems to signify certain reservations from the gift. The latter word seems to reserve the right of the grantor to mineral resources and treasure trove, etc. The right of the king to these is always urged against a gift unless it is expressly transferred. The word therefore, may reserve this right in favour of the royal donor in spite of the gift of land.[88] This discussion in connection with the Navalakhi plate of Śilāditya I, therefore, provides scope for a new interpretation.

The land granted to the donee was made rent free and exempt from other obligations. We come across a lot of Maitraka charters which grant land with fiscal immunities. Thus a Valabhi grant of Dhruvasena III mentions that the gift of land was made along with *udranga*, *uparikara*, *bhūtavātapratyaya*, and other income in grain (*dhāṇya*) and gold (*hiraṇya*), with the *dasaparādha* (the right to fine offenders for ten offences), alongwith the right to *viṣṭi* (eventual forced labour), without interference by the royal officers.[89] Another plate of Dhruvasena IV states that land was donated along with its appurtenances and whatever was on it together with revenue in kind or gold and whatever might be grown on it.[90] Who ever tried to confiscate the land was to be punished with five mortal sins and the five minor sins.[91] This clearly indicates that the donee enjoyed the exemption from taxation.

The expression *rājakiyanāmahasta-prakśepaṇiya* used in the charters of the Maitrakas[92] show that the donated villages were not interfered by royal officers and thus the donees enjoyed some sort of administrative powers in their own areas. This also implies that the donees also enjoyed economic powers in that particular area, as during the Maitraka times there was virtually little differentiation between fiscal and general administrative functions. This also meant that the economic status of Brāhmaṇas was more enhanced in the Maitraka society by these fiscal immunities.

D. Land Assessment and Measurement

The non mention of terms like *pindakara*[93] or any other term of similar import in the post Gupta period imply the absence of collective assessment of any tax on an entire village. Though in the Maitraka land grant sometimes entire villages were donated by

charters, several of their documents reveal the king's gift of fields (alongwith the royal dues therefrom) or wells or both laying in the extremities of specified villages and forming in many cases the holdings (*pratyaya*) of the individual cultivators whose names are mentioned. Thus in the Goras copper plates of Dhruvasena II (A.D. 643), a field consisting of three pieces and measuring 100 *padavartas* in the village called Bahūmula is granted. The grant states that the gifted area lay to the north of the field of Devi. Another field of same dimensions, donated according to the same record is described as having the *brāhmadeya* field of Sthāvira in the west and the holding of the Kutumbi Kuhundaka in the north.[94] All this may suggest that the villages concerned were not assessed collectively but with reference to individual holdings.

The appearance of a large number of land gifts in the form of smaller plots of land, necessitates the measurements to be indicated in the records. But how far individual holdings of land were assessed on the basis of their measurement is a moot question. However, it seems that the district of Kaira and the province of Kāthiāwāḍ to which the Maitraka grants mainly refer, had two separate systems of land assessment, based on the yield and area respectively.[95] Thus the Kaira system of assessment was by yield, the unit being the *pitaka*[96] or basketful, the grants describing fields as capable of growing so many baskets of barley or rice (or as requiring so many baskets of seed). Two plates measuring two *vrihipitakas* each were given as gift by king Dharasena IV (c. A.D. 649)[97]. Here it is specified that the *vrihipitaka* was measured by *Khetakamāna*[98]. Since *khetakamāna* was not mentioned in other grants, this particular unit must have been in use exclusively in Kaira area. Under the Kāthiāwāḍ system the

unit of measurement in prevalence was the *Pādavarta*[99]. In fact *Pādavarta* was a standard unit in Gujarāt during the times of Maitrakas. This term occurs frequently in the Maitraka grants. King Dhruvasena I donated 300 *pādavartas* of cultivated land and two small tanks (*vāpicā*) measuring 40 and 20 *pādavartas* respectively in the village of Haryāṇka to the brahmana, Dhammila.[100] The Jhār grant of Dharasena II records the grant of 100 *pādavartas* of land on northern boundary, 160 *pādavartas* of land on the eastern boundary of the village Velapadraka and 25 *pādavartas* on the southern boundary of the same village.[101] The Lusandi grant of Śilāditya II also records the donation of 235 *pādavartas* of cultivated land.[102]

Apart from these two techniques of land measurements, a third one by the name of *Bhakti*[103] is also mentioned in a few Maitraka grants. A copper plate of Dhruvasena II (c. A.D. 639) from Nogwā (near Ratlām), mentions 100 *bhakti* of land granted.[104]

All of these were artificial devices used for the demarcation of the boundaries of the gifted plots. But there are also evidences of recourse to natural marks like trees, rivers and plots of other owner(s), for the same purpose. The Nogwā plate of Dhruvasena II refers to a piece of land granted to two donees having specific boundary marks. Thus on the east of its boundary was the village Varahotaka, on the west Lakśmana's pattikā, on the south a river and on the north the boundary of the village Pulindaka[105]. Another detail which the Maitraka records preserve is that each field had its name called after a guardian or from some tree or plant. Among field names are Kotilaka, Khanda-Ḳedara, Bhimakshetra, Sami-Ḳedara etc.

E. Principles of Taxation

Despite the supreme position of the king, the uncertainty and arbitrariness of taxes was denounced by the contemporary law-givers. Not only the principle of moderation was emphasized in this regards but also an important feature of the tax-maxims of this period, as discussed in the contemporary sources, seems to be the idea of reconciling the needs of the state with the capacity of the people to pay taxes. Another interesting aspect of the ancient Indian principles of taxation is the idea that taxes are the wages of the king, which he gets for the protection of his people.[106]

That the principles discussed above were not always idle theories, can be inferred from several Maitraka inscriptions, which suggest that generally the rulers followed the precepts of the law-givers and refrained from tyrannizing the people. Dharasena II's Maliya copper plate (A.D. 571-72), speaking of Droṇasiṁha, records that he had as his law the rules of ordinances promulgated by Manu and other sages.[107] The same grant describes Guhasena as one whose title of *rājan* was befitting because he had pleased the hearts of his subjects by properly protecting them according to the rules prescribed in the *Smṛtis*.[108] The term *nyāya* is also used in Bhamodra-Mohota grant of Droṇasiṁha : *Yato svopachitanyayataḥ*, to show that not only the king but also the people were to follow the precepts of jurists in all their acquisitions.[109] But scholars like D.N. Jhā[110] and H. Chakraborti[111] think that this description of kings as following the rulers of traditional laws, may have been nothing more than a kingly vaunt and epithets such as 'religious', 'pious', 'follower of the śāstras', may have been largely eulogistic in intent and purpose or simply conventional.

F. Land Varieties

The ancient authors considered the classification of land essential both in the interest of ownership and for assessment of taxes and other levies for the royal exchequer. The epigraphs of the Maitrakas and other inscriptions of the period under survey refer to the ramification of land under five broad heads : *Kśetra*[112] or the cultivable land; *Khila*[113] or the waste or fallow land; *Vastu*[114] or the homestead land; *Padraka*[115] or the pasture or grazing land the *Atāvibhūkhanda-* the Jangalabhumi or the forest land. Apart from these, *Puṣpavātikās*[116] or the garden lands and *Bhṛṣti*[117] lands have also been mentioned in the Maitraka grants.

G. Land Revenue

The replenishment of the royal treasury was considered a *sine qua non* for maintaining the state and protecting the subjects in ancient India. Collection of taxes from the people, therefore, became necessary, in order to meet the expenditure of the state. As the land was the most important commodity in the times when the economy was essentially agrarian, land revenue constituted the main source of state income. Though the Maitraka inscriptions do not supply and detailed information regarding the rate of land revenue payable to the state, it seems likely that land tax may have been assessed at the rates in keeping with the varying fertility of the soil. In general, however, most of the authorities speak in favour of one sixth of produce as land revenue.[118] This is also corroborated by Yuan Chwang's statement that, "the king's tenants pay one-sixth of the produce as rent."[119] But during the times of distress or emergency, land revenue at a rate higher than one sixth of the produce could be charged. Manu allows the king to levy one-third of the crops as land tax.[120] Kautilya also

recommends that during financial crisis the king could demand from his subjects one-third or one-fourth of their grain according to the capacity of the land.[121]

Equally pertinent and no less controversial is the question whether land tax was levied on the gross income or on the profit of the cultivator. With regard to tax on merchants, our sources implicitly indicate an attempt to shift the burden of taxation on net profit[122], but the jurists nowhere explicitly state that land tax was assessed on the peasant's profit. It is, however, not improbable that there may have existed a broad recognition of the fact that taxes should fall on the profit and not on the capital though how far this principle was observed specifically in relation to land tax is largely a matter of speculation.

Though the Maitraka epigraphs are generally silent about the land tax and allied taxes payable to state, they do somehow refer to several fiscal terms associated with land revenue. The Botad grant of Dhruvasena II tells us that he granted a village to a community of Buddhist monks along with *udranga*, *uparikara*, *bhūtavātapratyaya*, *dhānya*, *hiraṇya* and the like and it was not to be meddled with by royal officers.[123] Similarly the Navalakhi plates of Śilāditya[124], along with a host of other records state terms like *sodrangah*, *soparikarah*, *savātabhūtapratyayah*, *sadhānyahiraṇyadeyah*, *sadasaparādhah*, *sotpadyamanavishtih* and *ahastaprakshepaṇiyah*. Again we often come across the terms like *Bhāga* and *Bhoga* in the Maitraka inscriptions. The Alina copper plates of Śilāditya VII refers to *Bhoga-bhāga*.[125]

It is interesting to note that U.N. Ghoshāl[126] thinks that revenue was derived from the king's own allotments in the villages and not

from any share of the agricultural produce of the villagers, because no clear mention of land revenue is available from inscriptions. But the term *bhāgabhoga-kara* which is frequently met within the Gupta records[127] prove the contrary. Fleet explains this expression as enjoyment of shares or taxes. In the Maitraka inscriptions, however, these two words are used in the reverse order and mentioned as *bhoga-bhāga*. But really speaking, this term is a compound formed by two independent words denoting two separate taxes. D.C. Sircār[128] and Kielhorn[129] hold the view that *bhaga* was the royal share of the produce. P. Chakravarti[130] interprets the term as land revenue paid in kind while Ghoṣhāl[131] translates it as the king's customary share of the produce. Thus *Bhāga* seems to have been the principal tax on land in the Maitraka times.

The term *bhoga* on the other hand is used by Manu[132] as meaning daily presents to the king in the form of fruits, flowers, vegetables and grass etc. Sircār[133] explains it as the periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers etc., which the villagers had to furnish to the king. Meanwhile, Altekar[134] has taken it to be the petty taxes in kind. So it appears that *bhoga* constituted the occasional presents paid to the king, in kind.

Two other related terms used in Maitraka records are *bali* and *dhanya*. The Amarkosa uses *bali* and *bhāga* as synonymous terms.[135] *Bali* is mentioned as a regular land tax in most contemporary legal[136] and literary writings. D.N. Jhā also seems to have the same view when he avers that the *bhaga* of inscriptions is identical with the *bali* of the Dharmaśāstras and general literature.[137] But the *bali* of the inscriptions has often been taken to mean a religious tax. The Maitraka epigraphs invariably treat *bali* as one of the five sacrificial

rites, the four others being *chāru*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihotra* and *atithi*. Thus *bali* in this context cannot mean a tax.

Dhānya finds a frequent mention in the Maitraka land grants. The term is generally mentioned along with *bhoga*, *bhāga* and *hiraṇya* and hence forms a part of a compound expression. The Alina grant of Dharasena II, therefore, bears the expression *sadhānyabhāgabhoga hiraṇyadeya*.[138] The Virdi copper plates of Kharagraha I[139] and the Navalakhi grant of Śilāditya I[140] also mention the expression *Sadhānyahiraṇyadeyah*. *Dhānya* literally means the gain share of paddy to be paid to the state. Chakraborti thinks that *Dhānya* may be taken as an additional payment in kind, over and above the usual fixed contribution, denoted by *bhoga-bhāga*.[141] But based on the distinction between *bhāga-bhoga* and *dhānya* as implied in the above mentioned grant Ghoṣhāl suggested the most pertinent definition. He said that *dhānya* was probably the fixed contribution in kind, while *bhāgabhoga* (which was also deposited in kind) probably consisted of a varying proportion of the produce.[142]

As can be seen from above the term *dhānya* occurs in conjunction with *hiraṇya* in some of the Maitraka inscriptions. As against the former, the latter seems to be a tax in cash. The term *Hiraṇya* literally means gold. Bandhopādhayāya[143], who took this literal meaning to be true, defines it as a tax 'on the hoard capital or on the annual income'. Beni Prasād[144] also states that it is 'the right of the state to the gold and probably other mines as well.' But most scholars have refuted these explanations. The petty villagers, we can infer, could hardly afford to pay in gold to the royal treasury and therefore, *hiraṇya* was used in the sense of mere 'cash'. D.C. Sircār[145] and U.N. Ghoṣhāl[146] both explain it as the king's share of

certain special crops, paid in cash. Obviously *hiraṇya* was the revenue paid in cash in lieu of kings share of crops. Hence the practice of payment of land revenue in cash and kind was jointly in use under Maitraka hegemony.

Another fiscal expression that occurs frequently in the Maitraka epigraphs is *uparikara* (*soparikarah*). It is, however, usually connected with the term *udranga* (*sodranga*). The interpretation suggests that it possibly means "together with its appurtenances (in relation to the grama or village) as timber, trees etc., standing on land"[147]. The other view believes that it meant "together with municipal taxes, levied on tradesmen etc., for the management of the towns."[148] The second view is also supported by V.V. Mirāshi who holds that this was an additional tax which was imposed on traders and artisans.[149] Scholars like Fleet and Bühler, however, think that all these attributes signify different sorts of land and other revenues. Fleet, therefore, explains the term as "a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary right in the soil."[150] Ghoṣhāl also states that it is "a rent paid by temporary tenants[151], while the permanent tenants had to pay *udranga*". R.C. Majumdār is of the same view when he interprets *uparikara* as an impost levied on temporary tenants.[152] Barnett, rejects the views of Ghoṣhāl altogether and suggests that *uparikara* is something like Tamil *melvaram*, i.e., crown's share of the produce.[153] According to Altekar, on the other hand, the term is identical with *bhoga* which consisted of contributions in the form of articles of provision.[154] Both the contentions, however, appear erroneous as it seems untenable that different terms were used to denote the same thing, i.e., the share of the produce. Though none of the explanations offered so far is conclusive, the only plausible

interpretation is offered by D.C. Sircār, to whom *uparikara* appears to be an extra-cess, since '*upari*' in Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengāli means 'upon' or 'extra'[155] C.V. Vaidya also thinks that the expression seems to suggest extra taxes and not taxes on extra cultivators, as suggested by Fleet.[156]

Just like *uparikara*, the term *udranga* also, is difficult to interpret because it occurs only in the land grants and not in the literature of the period. Bühler assumes it to be "the share of the produce collected usually for the king."[157] The same view is held by Fleet.[158] As stated earlier Ghoṣhāl conisders it to be the revenue imposed on permanent peasants.[159] D.C. Sircār[160] supports this view. But we have already noted that sometimes *udranga* and *bhoga*, which perhaps means the regular land tax, occur in one and the same grant, and therefore, all the above explanations become untenable. Maity offers two alternative explanations. According to the first *udranga* may have meant something like water tax.[161] But we have no independent evidence to prove the prevalence of water tax in Gupta and Maitraka times. The other explanation of Maity[162] defines *udranga* as something equivalent of *dranga* which according to *Rājataraṅgiṇi*[163], a later work, is a watch station; and the term may have stood for a police tax levied on the district for the maintenance of local police station. If this view is accepted, *udranga* losses its relation with land revenue. It has also been suggested that the term *sodranga* (or with *udranga*) is not a tax at all. The word *udranga* is explained in the Petersburg dictionary as a synonym of *dranga*, a town[164], and *Drangika* as a town officer or merely a town dweller.[165] *Udranga*, however, seems to be a tax and *Dhangika* was perhaps the its officer incharge of its collection. Pushpā Niyogi suggests another

definition and states that the term may have meant a type of tax levied to meet the cost of some local festivals held periodically[166], as the term *Ranga* literally means entertainment. It can only be presumed that like *uparikara*, *udranga* may have also been a levy over and above the usual gain share, though any attempt to determine its exact nature will only be conjectural unless some fresh evidence is forthcoming.

The terms *bhūta-vāta* and *savāta-bhūta praṭyaya* are known from the two often cited Maitraka inscriptions, viz., the Maliya[167] and the Alina[168] copper plates, which took these to mean, probably,a tax levied on commodities. Bühler thinks that the word actually referred to certain dues from a village.[169] Fleet also endorses this view.[170] The compound expression *Savāta bhūta praṭyaya* has been translated by Bhadkāmkar, "as determined by wind and other marks of the limits of a place". These boundary marks were taken to be five fold and specified by Nārada as referring to huge trees and mountains, river or tanks, underground signs, artificial marks made by men and by the order of the king.[171] Ghoṣhāl understands the term as revenue derived from the elements and the winds.[172] Maity states that the expression may have some connection with *vāta* or wind and *bhūta* or spirits, for whose worship and appeasement a cess was collected.[173] A.S. Altekar makes them two separate taxes – *vāta* as articles imported and *bhūta* as the same produced in the village and therefore, equivalent to *sulka*.[174] But R.N. Saletore refute this claim as he points out that if *bhuta* indicates all that was produced in the village, the separate mention of *dhānya*, *hiraṇya* and other taxes would have been redundant, as the term *bhūta* covered them all.[175] According to Dikshitār this term in the compound form means a tax on fruit and

flower gardens.[176] Any how the extent explanations are not conclusive and we await any further research in this regard.

H. Commercial Taxes, Fines and Miscellaneous Sources of Royal Income

Apart from land revenue, taxes on saleable commodities seem to have been an important source of royal income during the Maitraka times. Though the contemporary sources are not unanimous about the principles and modes of assessing taxes and duties on merchants, they do indicate, however, that *śulka* was the principal item of state revenue under the present head. The term *śulka*, which literally means a fee, or a tax finds the earliest mention in the *Atharva Veda*.[177] The word found mention also in the early *Smṛti* literature.[178] Kautilya recommended that merchandise both internal and foreign should be liable to the payment of *śulka* alike when exported or imported.[179] In this sense *śulka* implies to mean both internal toll and customs duty. But Ghoṣhāl suggests that *śulka* is specifically the tax levied on merchants inside the fortified towns and is distinct from what was imposed on port.[180] *Amarkoṣa* which belongs to the Gupta period renders *śulka* as what is payable at the ferries etc. (*ghāttadideye*).[181] The Maitraka inscriptions also make mention of *śulka*. Thus, the Jhār grant of Dharasena II[182] and the Bhāvnagar plates of Guhasena[183] record the royal commands issued to all the officers including the *Śaulkikas*. Fleet has defined the term *Śaulkika* as an official designation for the superintendent of tolls or customs (or *śulka*),[184] which implies the prevalence of *śulka* in the Maitraka period. But none of these references suggests the exact scope and content of this impost. Hence for the lack of sufficient data the exact connotation of *śulka* cannot be ascertained; but it can be said with a considerable

degree of certainty that it was a tax on commodities realised from traders and merchants and that it may have included taxes on both indigenous and foreign articles.

The mention of ferries, harbour, the merchandise for internal and external trade, and the official named *Śualkika*, in the Maitraka epigraphs, and some contemporary literary works alongwith the fact that Valabhi, the capital of the Maitrakas was situated in the Bhāvnagar creek during those days, presupposes ferry charges or boat-hire which must have constituted an important source of the Maitraka royal income.

One of the Valabhi records, refers to *Vartamanapāla*,[185] who has been taken to be incharge of a tax known as *vārtam*, a kind of road toll or cess. The term *vārtam* was probably identical with *vārtani* of the *Arthaśāstra*.[186] Thus it is not unlikely that such a payment was received by the Maitraka sovereigns.

Another tax called the *viṣṭi* or forced labour has been recorded in most of the Maitraka inscriptions. The Walā plate grant of King Guhasena[187] records that the king granted four villages with revenue and with the right of forced labour arising therefrom. The Nogwā charter of king Dhruvasena II[188] also refers to the grant of land to two brāhmaṇas with the income in grain and gold and with the right of eventual forced labour. This right to forced labour is also implicit in other inscriptions of the dynasty like the Pālitānā plates of Dhruvasena II[189], the Navalakhi plates of Śilāditya I[190] and the Valabhi grant of Dhruvasena III[191]. It seems that it was the tax extracted from the poor, for, the Hindu polity has laid down the proposition that every citizen ought to pay something by the way of taxation to the state in return for the protection he gets, however, poor he may be. Taxation whether in

cash or kind was both impracticable and cruel in case of the poor classes. It was due to this reason that the state was allowed to levy a tax in the form of impressed labour from such people like labourers, artisans, etc. As against the hired labour this labour (*viṣṭi*) was generally unpaid and thus constituted a source of privilege, if not income of the state.

That the Maitraka kings also derived income from crown lands can be judged from an inscription of Dhruvasena I[192] belonging to the Amreli district of the Bombay region which records the grant of 100 *pādavartas* of '*sitā*' land. Evidently here *sitā* is reminiscent of crown lands which is described in the *Arthaśāstra* as being supervised by the *sitādyakśa*.

Further the state extracted revenue from the *daṇda* or the fine, which must have been a constant source of royal income. The expression *Sadasaparādha* or *sadaṇdadasaparādha* (with ten offences) is frequently met within the Valabhi inscriptions[193], wherein it is mentioned as one of the privilege granted to the donees. These ten offences, as Fleet[194] has suggested, were probably the ten traditional sins mentioned in the Dharmaśāstras. These consist of three specified sins of body-theft (*steya*), violence or murder (*himsa*) and adultery (*paradaropaśeva*) ; three sins of mind-coveting other's property (*paradravyeṣu-abhidāna*), thinking of wrong (*aniṣta-chintana*) and tenacity of what is not true (*vitathabhimves*); and four sins of speech, viz., *anrta*, *paruśa*, *asambaddha-prelāpa* or the harshness of language, untruthfulness, slandering or vain babbling and incoherent conversation. On the other hand, Jolly[195] connects *dasaparādha* with the list of ten grave offences, which according to Nārada comprised transgression of royal commands, killing a female,

mixtures of castes, adultery, robbery, pregnancy caused by another man than a husband, abuse, insulting language, assault and procuring abortion.[196] Whatever may be the opinion of different scholars, the expression is generally taken to mean the donee's right to the proceeds from the fines for the commission of these offences by the villagers.

There might, of course, have been other miscellaneous sources of income for the state such as the war booty and plunder, tributes from feudatories, treasure troves etc. Although they are not mentioned in the Maitraka records, they may easily be inferred from eulogies of the kings.[197] The names of few fiscal officials, who must have been connected with such additional items of taxation, are also mentioned in the Maitraka grants. There existed one *anutapannadā-nasamgrāhaka* who was incharge of collection of arrears of the state revenue.[198] Then again there was the *dhruvadhikarṇa*[199] whose business was to superintend the collection of the grain produce and to make sure that the collectors do not collect more than proper share of the state.

Finally, we come across another class of king's receipts of an essentially irregular nature, which is concerned with what may be called an additional tax on the non-brāhmaṇas. Although there is no evidence to prove that the rogue and undutiful brāhmaṇas were liable to a special levy, there are reasons to believe that during the period under survey, non-brāhmaṇas were sometimes made to pay some kind of tithe for the exclusive benefit of the priestly class. Several of the Maitraka inscriptions refer to the donation of land to the donee with the exception of the "endowments previously given in favour of the temples and brāhmaṇas and the brāhamaṇa twentieth"

(*purvvapradattadevabrāhmadeya brāhmaṇavimśaterahitaḥ*)[200]. The term *brāhmaṇa vimśati* has been understood by Bühler[201] to mean a title imposed on the villages for the brahmanas. Ghoṣhāl[202] also has the same opinion. H. Chakraborti[203] declares that the term evidently suggests that the tithe at the rate of $1\,^{1}/_{20}$ was perhaps imposed on the non-brāhmaṇas.

All the taxes enumerated above were not payable by all and sundry. The burden was certainly not equitably distributed among all sections of tax payers. The Maitraka land grants clearly indicate that the donees, mostly brāhmaṇas, were immune from the payment of taxes; the privilege may also have been enjoyed by the learned brāhmaṇas who were not grantees. This adversely affected the total revenue receipts of the king. The loss in the royal income may have been compensated by throwing the maximum burden of taxation on the non-brāhmaṇas, who do not seem to have enjoyed any exemption from taxation. The mention of the tithe known as *brāhmaṇavimśati*, discussed above, is not out of context in this regard. Conversely, what was lost to the state, in term of revenue, was gained by the priests, whose improved economic condition placed them in a superior position in relation to the ordinary men during the Maitraka period. This along with the fact that king might have gained enough latitude to tyrannise people of the lower varnas, by resorting to financial extortion during the times of emergency did probably led to some kind of polarisation of social classes.

This, however, should not be deciphered to mean that the Maitraka rulers were guided by their personal whims and caparice in their financial dealings with ordinary people. In fact during the times of distress or any natural calamity, the helpless inhabitants had their

only hope in the state relief. Thus the Maliya copper-plates of Dharasena II records the idea that it was the royal responsibility to check calamities affecting his subjects and the inscription declared that the wealth of the king was for the protection and maintenance of the helpless.[204]

Maitraka riches were proverbial. People lived a prosperous and content life. The kings were benevolent and they cared for the material progress and general well being of their public. Yuan Chwang, while describing the empire, says : "The population is very dense, the establishment rich."[205] This prosperity and the existence of a large population, presupposed a strong and efficient economic structure based on the efficient synchronization of the various occupational sectors of the economy.

Agriculture has been accepted as the chief occupation of the people in Maitraka times. Again, speaking of the Maitraka kingdom, Yuan Chwang states that "the soil is rich and fertile, and produces abundant harvests. Shrubs and trees are numerous and flourishing. Flowers and fruits are met within great quantities. The soil is suitable in an especial manner for winter wheat."[206] It seems that during the period of Maitraka supremacy, the total land was divided into two parts, viz., the crown land and the private individual fiefs. The existence of the crown land can be surmised from the fact that the land grants refer to '*Sitā*' (already discussed above), specifically as the revenue derived from the state owned land. The expression *dhruva-sthānadhikaraṇa* (or *dhruvadhikaraṇa*)[207] of the Bhamodra-Mahota copper plate inscription of Droṇasiṁha means the station for collecting '*dhruva*'[208], i.e., the king's fixed grain share. Bühler points out that '*dhruva*' is still used in Kāthiāwāḍ and Kutch to denote "a

person who on the part of a *rājā* superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain, which is made by the farmers of revenue."[209] In simple words the term denote persons who supervise the collection of land revenue by tax farmers on behalf of the king. Thus the expression *dhruva* implies three things, namely, the existence of private arable lands; the payment of the royal share of certain crops, in kind and most importantly the existence of revenue farmers. Based on this definition of the term Ghoṣhāl[210] opines that the Maitraka records introduce us for the first time to the class of farmers of land revenue. Does this imply the rise of landlordism in the Maitraka period? D.N. Jhā[211] has refuted this contention of Ghoṣhāl by suggesting that the *dhruvadhikaraṇika* was an officer who superintended the realisation of land revenue by the king's collectors and not by the revenue farmers. But the grants of land made by the Maitraka king explicitly indicate towards the creation of a class of people who owned and enjoyed land for generations. Furthermore, a grant of Dharasena II[212] refers to the rent paid by non-resident cultivators. Does this indicate that some sort of absentee landlordism also prevailed under the Maitraka rule? The assumption is debatable.

Irrigation played a vital role in the attainment of abundant and luxuriant vegetation. Though natural irrigation was by rainfall, it was not possible to depend on it alone for a country which was chiefly agricultural. The Maitraka rulers took utmost care of the irrigational facilities provided by the state. Our sources point to the fact that Valabhi, the capital of the Maitrakas, was situated on the banks of the river Ghalo. This river must have provided, to the peasants, a constant supply of water for irrigation. Still, it is hard to imagine that this source would have been adequate to feed the far flung areas of

such a vast kingdom. Thus the kings resorted to artificial measures for constant supply of water. The Maitraka land grants repeatedly refer to the donations consisting of fields along with *vāpis*, *kūpas* and *vāpikās*.[213] This is one notable feature of the Maitraka grants, worth a mention because it is quite unlike the other royal inscriptions of northern and western India. It would appear, that in Valabhi, agriculture was greatly dependent on irrigation. Yuan Chwang noticed that the soil in western India was brackish and fruits and flowers were scarce.[214] So in these regions agriculture was difficult and people had to rely on artificial devices for irrigation.

Wheels (*kūpas*) were generally used for irrigation. The Maliya copper plates of Dharasean II[215] mentions the gift of land along with an irrigation well. The Jhār grant of Dharasena II[216] records an irrigation well with 25 *padavartas* of land around it. The Bhāvnagar plates of Dharasena III[217] states that an irrigation well with an area of 18 *pādavartas* was dug by Kutumbi Karpadiya. The Valabhi plates of Dharasena IV[218] also mentions an irrigation well.

Vāpis or *Vāpikās* constituted another source of irrigation during Maitraka times. The Pālitānā plates of Dhruvasena I[219] refer to two step wells (*vāpis*) donated with fields. Another grant of the same ruler mentions the endowment of a step well along with four pieces of land in Hariyāṇka.[220] A host of other Maitraka inscriptions also make mention of step wells.[221]

Ponds were also used as water sources for irrigation. The Pālitānā plates of Dharasena II records the gift of plots of land including a pond to two brāhmaṇa donees.[222] The grant mentions two ponds, *viz.*, the Avatāra and the Nimba.

The reference of a small tank named Nirgandi situated in a cultivated field, in the Nogwā plates of Dhruvasena II[223] shows how tanks were utilized for the irrigation of land in the area concerned. The Bhāvnagar inscription of Dharasena IV[224] records the excavation of a tank in order to provide water near at hand. This indicates that tanks were extensively used as source of water for irrigation besides other essential requirements.

Besides tank and wells, irrigation canals were also in vogue. The Bhāvnagar plate of Dharasena III[225] states that the field of Sossaka contained a canal. Still further a single Maitraka record refers to a *vāpibhollara*[226] (of the dimensions of 12 *pādavartas*). The expression is taken to mean probably an unused well filled with earth.

The Maitraka rulers took all possible cares for the development of agriculture. People were warned not to disturb cultivation of the gifted land by the donee, as evidenced by the Maliya grant of Dharasena II[227] which states thus : "wherefore no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (it) in accordance with the property rights of a grant of a brāhmaṇa (and) cultivating (it) (or) causing (it) to be cultivated or assigning (it to another); and also by the Alina copper plates of Śilāditya VII.

As to the crops special mention should be made of cotton which according to *Amarkoṣa*[228] was mainly produced in Saurāṣtra and Kāthiāwāḍ. Western India was a black soil region[229] and hence was well suited for cotton cultivation.[230] That the Maitraka people produced raw cotton in great quantities can be surmised from the fact that textile manufacture was a thriving industry in Gujarāt in those days and this industry could not have flourished and won legendary fame in foreign countries, had the raw material for the manufacture of

fabrics was not available in its vicinity. The dyes which were ancillary to the textile industry, as used during the period, were mainly of vegetable origin. One of the dye was manufactured from a black aloe wood, which we know from the record of Śilāditya VII[231], was also used to manufacture a cosmetic.

A large variety of grasses were also grown in this region during the period. These were of considerable economic value. Of them, *kuśa* grass was required for religious performances[232], *muñja* grass was needed for making girdles[233] and *usera* grass had refrigerant properties.[234] They were also utilized in the construction of houses as Yuan Chwang states that houses were often thatched with coarse (common) grass.[235] Moreover, they were used as fodder.[236]

Along side agriculture, horticulture also flourished during the Maitraka period. Flowers fascinated the Valabhi people as they used them on every occasion and particularly for daily worship. Maitraka inscriptions refer to grant of land for the maintenance of material for worship which included flower and floral garlands for the deities.[237] Moreover, during the times, flowers became essential for personal decoration of both males and females[238], for greeting guests[239] as well as for interior decoration of houses.[240] Gardens were, therefore, carefully maintained to ensure constant supply of flowers throughout the year. The Wala plates of Śilāditya I refer to the flower gardens (*Puṣpavātikā*)[241].

Despite all these advances made in agriculture, fragmentation of land took place in the Maitraka dominions owing to the process of partition and gift of land and the pressure of population. Some of the Valabhi land grants show that 'the average plot of land did not exceed two or three acres in size.'[242] Thus we can see that smaller holdings

made agriculture uneconomical from this time onwards. Again, R.S. Sharmā's conclusion seems to be right when he says that 'smaller holdings made it uneconomical to employ a large number of Śūdra slaves and labourers'.[243] And so it is quite natural to think that many *śūdras*, who had worked so long as slaves and labourers were released during this period. This enhanced status of the *śūdras* coupled with the deterioration in the condition of the Vaiśyas, during the later phase of the Maitraka rule, brought the two lower *varṇas* at par economically.

Though the primary emphasis was on agriculture, the Maitraka people did not fail to recognise the value and utility of domestic animals in the economic life of the community. That the people of Valabhi dynasty domesticated animals, can be surmised from the mention of pasture grounds and herdsmen in some of the Maitraka inscriptions. The Kaira grant of Dharasena IV[244] mentioned village grazing ground. The Bhāvnagar plates[245] of Guhasena refers to a village herdsman named Cheṇḍāvaka, whose duty was to lead cattle to the grazing grounds. The Bhāvnagar plates of Dharasena III[246] refers to the village cattle track.

Although agriculture was the mainstay of the people, it did not hamper the development of trade and industries during the Maitraka epoch. Besides the agriculturists, who formed the bulk of the population, there existed alongside a rich class of traders, commercialists and industrialists. Saurāṣtra was noted as an important part of western India on account of its busy and prosperous harbours. We have sufficient literary evidence to prove the importance of the Maitraka capital Valabhi, as a prosperous centre of trade and commerce. In fact, it has been said that Valabhi was chosen as the

capital probably due to its being an harbour on the Bhāvnagar creek.[247] Yuan Chwang while describing the kingdom avers, "there are some hundred houses (families) or so, who possess a hundred lakhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities".[248] Literary evidence from another source, the *Daśakumāracharita* of Daṇḍin, a work of probably the seventh century A.D., and hence almost contemporaneous with the Maitraka dynasty, also bears the testimony to Yuan Chwang's description of the prosperity of the Maitrakas. In this work we come across this reference : "There is a city named Valabhi in Saurāṣtra. In it there is an owner of ship (*Nāvikāpati*) named Gṛhagupta who can vie with *Kubera* in riches."[249] This reference makes it explicit that even private individuals possessed ships of their own. In yet another literary work we have similar references to merchants coming to Valabhi from distant places for business purposes.[250] In the ancient folk lore of Saurāṣtra the *Suvarṇa-puruṣa* and *Kalpa-vṛkśa*, a tree with the mysterious powers to make one's desired object come true, are associated with Valabhi.[251] This, in other words, implies that people flocked to this ancient city of Gujarāt to gain wealth and prosperity which they could achieve with little effort, given its rich and flourishing harbours, fertile soil and the general natural wealth of the country as a whole.

It is well known that Gujarāt was, as it still is, the home of arts and crafts. Thus a large number of industries existed in the Maitraka dominions under their rule. Polishing of carnelian beads is rated as the number one industry.[252] Other industries of which we have some evidence were spinning and weaving, masonry and carpentry, iron smelting, jewellery, brassware and potteries.[253] Outstanding gold and

silver vessels of exquisite workmanship were produced in this period.[254] Manufacture of bricks, of different dimensions (as noted in the excavations in or near Valabhi), as well the clay seals and stone images excavated from the area suggest that masonry was a leading industry. The flourishing textile industry of the sixth and seventh century Saurāṣtra[255] helped to develop ancillary industries like printing, painting, dyeing, embroidery and the institution of tailoring. Of these the *bāndhani* or the tye-dyeing industry which is popular even today in this part of the country, was also patronised.[256] Salt industry also seems to have flourished in this area during the period. Yuan Chwang informs us that in Broach, sea-water was boiled to prepare salt.[257]

Many of the Maitraka inscriptions while donating land refer to the royal officers and umbrella bearers, who are specifically ordered not to interfere with the land privileges of the donees. This fact presumes that manufacture of the umbrellas was an important industry under the Maitrakas. The dense forests of Gujarāt of this era with a large variety of wild animals and timber, offered ample scope for the development of a number of industries by providing suitable raw materials. Thus, the Dhank plates of Śīlāditya I refers to the shoe-makers[258] of the village. This presumes that leather and tanning industries were well developed in this period. Then again, a grant of Dharasena II[259], mentions a carpenter's plot, denoting that the art of carpentry also advanced under the Maitraka rule. Shipbuilding seems to be another important industry under the Maitrakas. The Buddhist work *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-Mūla-Kalpa*[260] specifically refers to the maintenance of navy by the Maitrakas. The *Daśakumāracharita* of Daṇdin, as discussed earlier, also mentions a ship's captain

(*Nāvikāpati*) who lived in the city of Valabhi. Other articles produced in the area included incense, toilet requisites, scents, etc. Manufacture of various cosmetics also formed a lucrative industry of this period. The Alina grant of Śilāditya VII refers to a dark blue coloured ointment prepared from ground aloe-bark (*Khanditaguruvilepanavida-Śyāmala*)[261], as a cosmetic.

As far as epigraphic evidence for Valabhi prosperity is concerned, according to the land grant charters of the numerous Maitraka kings, the people enjoyed a liking for ornamentation – a taste which is generally the result of economic prosperity. Further evidence for this is supplied by the descriptions of the Maitraka capital itself. It is said that it was so laid out that it resembled the human ear.[262]

The people of Valabhi also indulged in maritime activities. Reference to their navigational endeavours are given in the *Āryа-Mañju-Śri-Mūla-Kalpa*. The work states that the people of Valabhi reached Sura by crossing the sea which probably refers to their regular commercial trade ventures to and with Assyria.[263] This information is further corroborated by Daṇdin who, in his *Daśakumāracharita* mentions a captain of ships, who lived in Valabhi. An instance in point of the foreign trade, of Valabhi is furnished by the fact recorded by McCrindle, that China silk formed part of the export trade of Barygazes (Broach) with Rome.[264] Sankalia also refers to the probable commercial relations of the Maitrakas with the west, particularly with Arabian and the African coast.[265]

Valabhi plates give no indication of the external contacts during their rule of almost three hundred years. But we know for sure that Gujjaras of Broach were the allies of Maitraka kings. Yuan Chwang

further tells us that the Valabhi ruler Dhruvabhata (Dhruvasena II), though once at war with Harṣavardhana, ultimately became the latter's son-in-law. Mālwā, moreover, was governed by Dhruvasena II's uncle Śilāditya. Thus there is evidence of increased and constant contact between Kāthiāwāḍ, northern Gujarāt, central India and Gangetic Valley during the Maitraka times. We can, therefore, assume that the overall peace and prosperity of the Maitraka times assisted in promoting inter-provincial as well as foreign trade. While the inland trade was mostly carried on by carts or beasts of burden,[266] the foreign trade was managed with the help of ships.

To control such extensive commercial and trading activities of complex nature, it may be presumed, that there existed a department of commerce. Its duties would have been to levy custom dues on foreign trade and octroi on internal trade and it probably looked after the harbours and marts on behalf of the state. Apart from such state organisations, local bodies of merchants and traders, in the form of guilds also existed and they helped in regulation of trade and industries. Though not much information is yielded by the inscriptions about the origin of this guild system, the Valabhi copper plate grants tell us that it prevailed there from the very beginning.[267] We also know that the army of Bhatārka, the founder of the dynasty, consisted of various elements including *śreṇi* (guilds). This along with the mention of corporate activity among craftsmen and traders in ancient Indian literature, seems to suggest that the system in its organised form was probably introduced into the Maitraka kingdom from the early days of their reign and gradually it developed to perfection. The guilds it seems served the purpose of protecting the rights of the indigeneous traders and craftsmen against foreign

competitors. And we know from the evidence cited above that there were a lot of foreign traders at Valabhi.

The most important function of Guilds was the regulation of the economic life of the towns. The Maitraka inscriptions mention the name of some urban settlements like Ānandapuraviśaya, Suryapuraviśaya, Sivabhāgapuraviśaya, kaundinyapura in Saurāstra and Daśapura in Mālavaka. The former three are names of the largest Maitraka administrative division – the *viśaya*. Eight such viśaya are known from the sources available to us and the five mentioned above have suffixes *pura*, *puraka* and *nagara*, suggesting that they had some urban connotations. The capital of the kingdom, was also known by the name of Valabhipura. Again, the prevalence of money economy, the existence of which is proved by discovery of coins of gold, silver and copper in or near Valabhi, definitely assignable to the Maitrakas as well as the use of the term *hiraṇya* in context of land revenue, also indicate that the people lived in cities. Further, the Walā grant of king Guhasena refers to heads of towns.[268] Moreover, it would have been difficult for the people of Valabhi to pursue such commercial as well as intellectual activities along with cultural refinements, had there existed no towns in the empire.

A careful analysis of the Maitraka inscriptions, however, prove the predominance of villages. In fact, a linguistic analysis of the place-names reveals interesting facts of settlements under the Maitrakas. More than two hundred place-names have been obtained from the whole galaxy of Maitraka inscriptions. Out of these there are no more than five places, (mentioned earlier) which denote some sort of urban leanings[269] and even this is doubtful as Daśapura and Kaundenyapura do not appear to have been of any special importance

because they are not the ones which find frequent reference in the Maitraka epigraphs. In direct contrast to the suffixes denoting urban settlements, suffixes like *grāma, pathaka, padraka, sthali* etc., which clearly signify in one form or another some sort of village or rural set up, occur repeatedly in the Maitraka grants. Some of the examples of such settlements as met in the Maitraka inscriptions are : Vatapalli, Giriviligrām, Dombhigrāma, Kadamabapadra, Jhāristhali, Dakśanapathaka, Chhedakapadraka etc., the list is never ending.

Village life during Maitraka times was very advance. Just like in the present day Gujarāt, art and crafts flourished in villages during those times. The villages being self sufficient units, had their carpenters, leather workers, blacksmiths, potters, shoe-makers, traders and other artisans. Villages had their own flower gardens[270] and playgrounds.[271] The Dhank grant of Śilāditya I even make mention of village roads.[272] These roads, it may be assumed, connected the village with different parts of the country and facilitated transport and exchange of commodities.

The villagers were liable to pay taxes[273], both in cash and kind, to replenish the royal treasury. They were also subjected to occasional forced labour.[274] Such unpaid labour was usually demanded from the inhabitants of the village to carry out some public works. In many grants of other contemporary dynasties, it is mentioned that the lands donated to the brahmanas were exempt from forced labour.[275] This signifies that generally forced labour was imposed by the state. What is interesting is that all this is in direct contrast to the inscriptions of the Maitrakas, which invariably speak of endowments of land to the donees with the right of *viṣṭi* (forced labour). This raises a few questions which need serious answering.

The Maitrakas were one of the most important successors of the Guptas. The prolific economic activity, particularly in the field of trade and commerce along with a general environment of peace and prosperity during the long vigil of the latter, needs no introduction. The material advancements of the Guptas have been attested by archaeological, epigraphic and art remains. Whether the same state of affairs continued under the sway of the Maitrakas, who inherited portions of western India from their feudal overlords[276] and extended their rule in other territories as well, in anybody's guess. While on one hand the details provided in the foregoing pages testifies to the existence of a vibrant and advance material culture during the Maitraka epoch, the other sources of the times indicate towards the prevalence of a parallel and completely opposite economic set up which was marked by a decline of towns and trade, poor character of settlements, predominance of local and self sufficient rural economy and the large scale mechanism of land grants. Of all these factors the last one led to the fragmentation of land and the rise of the landed intermediaries, two basic ingredients based on which R.S. Sharmā postulated the existence of feudalistic tendencies in the Maitraka dominions.[277] He again cited the titles like *Sāmanta-mahārāja* and *mahā-Sāmanta* used by Maitraka kings to prove his piont.[278] Further he presumes that the charters of the Maitrakas imply the transfer of peasants along with land.[279] But Sharmā's views are criticised by several scholars.[280]

Meanwhile, from the explorations and excavations at numerous Maitraka sites we have obtained a number of Maitraka coins which indicate towards the existence of money economy in this region during the period. However, the scanty archaeological reports do not

throw adequate light on the issue. In the wake of such circumstances, one is forced to say that the Maitraka period witnessed only quasi-feudalistic tendencies.

But inspite of this over emphasis on the concepts of 'emerging feudalism' and the 'segmentary state'[281] and the fact that the dominant historiography on early medieval India has highlighted political decentralization and fragmentation in the period[282]; the phenomenon of regional state formation during the post-Gupta period cannot be negated.

In fact, scholars like Hermann Kulke[283] and B.D. Chattopādhyāya[284] have questioned the very basis of the model of political decentralization in the post-Gupta era. They argue that this model fails to explain the growth of important regional kingdoms and their long duration.

The theme of regional state formation needs to be explored, particularly since in much of the works on early medieval India, it has been argued that land grants contributed not only to the decentralization of the political authority of the state but also to the liquidation of governmental resources and the emergence of a class of landlords along with a subject-peasantry for the first time. Further, it has been suggested that *Brāhmadeya* grants and the concept of *visti* weakened the royal authority in the donated villages and made the beneficiaries the *de facto* owner of the granted land.[285] This in turn, made free peasants suffer and may have resulted in a corresponding curtailment of their land rights.

But all these claims have been refuted by scholars.[286] That a sovereign authority could lay claim to the exaction of *viṣṭi*, *ipso-facto*, implies the emergence of an independent political authority at a

regional level and the need for imposition to augment the revenue base, reducing the need for compulsory labour. Thus the Maitrakas gradually laid claim to *viṣṭi*, as they grew from the status of a local to a regional power. Further, it has been noted that the Maitraka records do not suggest that the brāhmaṇas emerged as landlords only with the beginning of the phenomenon of land grants. In fact, evidence from Maitraka land charters reveal that brāhmaṇas existed as rural enterpreneurs in Saurāṣtra prior to the making of land donations by the Maitrakas. From a close observation of the Maitraka epigraphs it becomes evident that a stratified rural society existed in pre- Maitraka times in Gujarāt. And if such a society existed in the area before the beginning of Maitraka state formation, then, agricultural tenants and agricultural labourers also did not emerge for the first time in the wake of royal land grants.

With the origination of the Maitraka rule, Saurāṣtra witnessed the formation of a regional state for the first time. But early on the Maitrakas were cautious in asserting their sovereignty. In fact, the absence of high-status ancestry made it difficult for upstart dynasties to break away from their relatively humble origins and impose their right to govern over their erstwhile peers. If the dynasty in the making was not very aristocratic in the recent past, its new status had to be announced repeatedly. It is precisely for this reason, that the Maitrakas issued so many land grants. The list of officials and taxes that form a part of these charters need not be understood as instruments for the exploitation of rural society; they could be interpreted as a means of familiarizing people with royal norms and the administrative apparatus of the newly emerging government of the Maitraka dynasty.

Lastly, the chapter would be incomplete without the mention of the system of revenue administration under the Maitrakas. Of course, the variety of taxes discussed in the foregoing pages presupposes the existence of a system which was elaborate as well as efficient. But there is nothing in the Maitraka records to indicate the prevalence of separate units for revenue assessment and collection. Nor should we expect that in ancient times, when there was very little differentiation of functions, there could be so much separation between fiscal and general administration. The mention of territorial divisions and fiscal exemptions in one and the same inscription indicates that the former served as fiscal units as well. A detailed description of the fiscal or the territorial divisions and administration is provided in the chapter on administration.

Overall, it could be said that the Maitraka period was characterised by general economic security and prosperity. The economic policy of the state aimed at creating conditions for the material advancement of the people as well as raising their standard of living.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Lionel Robbins, *Nature and Significance of Economic Science*, 1945, p.27.
2. In fact the first book on Economy is Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* which basically deals with the economy as an instrument of polity during Mauryan times. Kautilya terms 'economy' to be one of the four sciences; the other three being, Philosophy, Moral Science and Politics.
3. Right from the Ṛgvedic times, we thus find many prayers for riches and worldly wealth, because these were considered as the first condition for the realization of the goal of life.
4. It may be noted here that the members of the first two classes viz., Brāhmaṇas and Kśatriyas were not actually connected with the wealth producing activities; which was, in fact, the exclusive prerogative of the Vaiśyas. But the Vaiśyas were so preoccupied with their economic endeavours that neither they had the time nor the requisite qualification to leave any record or literature of their own. Hence we do not get any authentic information about the economic conditions of Ancient India as we have merely the references of the accounts left by the Brāhmaṇas and Kśatriyas.
5. Maity, S.K., *Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period*; Dāṇdekar, R.N., *The Age of the Gupta*; Jhā, D.N., *Revenue system in Post Maurya and Gupta Times:* Chakraborti, H., *India as reflected in the Inscriptions of the Guptas.*
6. A recent work by Nitā Vermā, deals adequately with the Maitraka economy – *Society and Economy in Ancient India* –

An Epigraphic Study of the Maitrakas (c.A.D. 475-775), Vikās Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992.

7. *EI*, I, p. 92. There are many other instances of similar gifts of land to individual Brāhmaṇa donees. For example, the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV describes that the donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Aditiśarman, son of Bhavināga, a student of Vājasaneyi *śākhā* and a member of Pārāśara *gotra* (*IA*, XV, p. 336); also the Alina grant of Dharasena IV points out that the grantee was a Ṛgvedi Brāhmaṇa of Sarkārakśi *gotra* named Nārāyaṇamitra (*IA*, VII, p. 73).
8. *EI*, XI, p. 175. There are numerous other instance of this kind in the Maitraka grants, where the land was endowed to more than one Brāhmaṇa donee. Thus while the Pālitānā plate of Dharasena II records the gift of plots of land to two brāhmaṇas, (*EI*, III, p. 258); the Prince of Wales Museum Bombay's plates of Śilāditya II records the grant of land to a community of Brāhmaṇas (*JBBRAS*, N.S., I, 1925, pp. 73-75).
9. 'The Botad plates of Dhruvasena II', *IA*, VI, 1877, pp. 13-16.
10. *IA*, VII, 1878, pp. 66-68.
11. *E.I*, XXI, p. 209.
12. Watters, T, *op.cit*, I, p. 176.
13. *IA*, VI, p. 10.
14. *ibid*, VII, pp. 66-67.
15. *CII*, III, 1888, p. 165ff; *IA*, XIII, 1884, p. 160ff.
16. *Manu Smṛti*, III, 79-81; *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, I, 23, 140.
17. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp. 116-119.
18. *IA*, IX, 1880, pp. 238f.

19. Jackson, 'The Bhamodra Mohata Plates of Dhruvasena II', *JBBRAS*, XX, 1897-98, pp. 6-10.
20. Maity, S.K., *op.cit*, p. 9.
21. Cf. Sen, S.N. and Dās, S.K., *An Introduction to Economic Theory*, p. 41.
22. Manu attributes the ownership of soil to the king and thereby declares him to be the owner of the treasures and minerals yielded by the land, *Manu Smṛti*, VIII, 39.
23. Gautama allows the king to be owner of all except the Brāhmaṇas, *Guatama Smṛti*, XI, 1.
24. Bṛhaspati attributes lordship of everything to the king. *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, XXVI, 19.
25. Kātyāyana is a bit guarded in this regard when he remarks that the king is the lord of the land, but never of other kinds of wealth, therefore, he should secure the sixth part of the fruits of land only. *Kātyāyana Smṛti*, Verse 16.
26. Sharmā, R.S., deciphers terms such as *Svabhoga and Saṁbhoga*, found in the records of western India as denoting crown land. (*Indian Feudalism*, p. 21-22; cf. Nitā Vermā, *op.cit.*, p. 79).
27. Maity justifies the fact by pointing out the custom of donating a whole village for charitable or religious purpose. He states, "These donations undoubtedly indicate that the king had the supreme ownership over the whole village; otherwise he could not transfer such comprehensive rights over the whole village in such a way. Maity, S.K., *op.cit.*, p. 16.

28. Sircār refers to *Svabhoganagaro* in the Eraṇ inscription of Samudra Gupta indicating that the whole land belonged to the state. Sircār, D.C., *Select Inscritpions*, p. 270 (hereafter *S.I.*).
29. Ghoṣhāl remarks, "evidently then, the state in India was held at this time, virtually, if not legally, to be the owner of the soil. Ghoṣhāl, U.N., *Hindu Revenue System* (Hereafter *HRS*), p. 226.
30. *IA*, VII, pp. 71 and 76.
31. *ibid.*, XIV, p. 328.
32. cf. Jha, D.N., *op.cit.*, p. 17.
33. *EI*, XI, 1911-12, p. 105ff.
34. *ibid.*, p. 109-112.
35. 'The Pālitānā plates of Dharasena II, dated A.D. 571', *EI*, XI, pp. 80ff.
36. *Manu Smṛti*, VII, 39.
37. *Nārada Smṛti*, VII, 6-7.
38. *IA*, XIV, p. 328.
39. Watters, T., *op.cit.*, I, p. 176. He further adds that, " the Kings tenants pay one-sixth of the produce as rent."
40. Tākākusu, J, *op.cit.*,p. 178.
41. *IA*,VII, p. 66.
42. *ibid.*, I, p. 45.
43. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 186.
44. *Vākātaka-Gupta Age, p. 332.*
45. Campbell, *Modern India*, London, 1852, p. 92.
46. Maine, H.S., *Village Communities in East and West*, London, 1890, pp. 91-94.
47. The word *vyavaharin* has been wrongly interpreted as businessman – Jhā, D.N., *op.cit.*, p. 10n.

48. *Sir Āśhutoṣh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, Vol. III, pt. II, pp. 486-491 (hereafter *A.M.S.J.C.*).
49. *ibid.*, III, pt. II, p. 487.
50. Majumdār, *op.cit.*, p. 186.
51. The true explanation of the given phrase, as Ghoṣāl puts it, "is to be found in the sacred texts making the king eligible to one-sixth of the spiritual merits as well as demerits of his subjects." - *I.H.Q.*, Vol. V, pp. 111-12.
52. *CII*, III, No. 38, pp. 164-71.
53. *ibid.*, p. 170.
54. *Padraka* seems to be the full form of *padra*, which is defined in the Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English dictionary* as meaning, 'a village; the entrance into a village; the earth; a particular district'. Bühler has explained it as being the modern *padr*, 'a grazing place' ('Valabhi Inscriptions', *IA*, XV, p. 337). But he does not provide a tenable reference to support his view.
55. Wilson, H.H., *Glossary of Indian Terms*, p. 286.
56. Jhā, D.N., *op.cit.*, p. 9.
57. *HCGEG*, p. 51.
58. *C.II*, III, p. 170.
59. *Manu Smṛti*, IX, 44.
60. *Nārada Smṛti*, I XI, p. 40.
61. *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, IX, 28.
62. *EI*, I, p. 92 (The Valabhi grant of Dhruvasena III).
63. Watters T., *op.cit.*, I, p. 176. He says that the ministers of state and the common officials had their own portions of land.
64. Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 271.
65. *IA*, I, p. 46.

66. *EI*, XXIX, p. 209.

67. Cf. Ghoṣhāl, U.N., *op.cit.*, p. 226.

68. Jhā, D.N., *op.cit.*, p. 17.

69. I, 10, 18, 1.

70. *Kātyāyana Smṛti*, Verse 17.

71. *EI*, XXXI, No. 39, 1955-56, pp. 299-301, 'The Mota Machiala Plates of Dhruvasena I'. The plate mentions the grant of 100 *pādavartas* of '*Sitā*' (the cultivated crown land). *Arthaśāstra* noted that the officer who collected the revenue from the crown land was called *Sitādhyakśa*.

72. *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, VII, 23.

73. Buch, M.A., 'The Hindu Theory of Property', *Proceedings and Transactions of All India Oriental Congress*, 7th Session, Baroda, 1933, pp. 253-57.

74. Vermā, B.S., *Socio-Economic, Religious and Literary Conditions of Bihar*, p. 157.

75. Lallanji Gopāl, *TheEconomic Life in Northern India*, p. 10.

76. *ibid.*, p. 8.

77. *IA*, IV, p. 175.

78. 'The Pālitānā plates of Dhruvasena I', *IA.*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 129; 'The Gaṇeśhgadh plates of Dhruvasena I', *EI*, III, 1894-95, p. 318ff.

79. *Brāhmadeya* as a privilege is mentioned in a lot of Maitraka grants, e.g., *idem.*, also, 'the Pālitānā plates of Dharasena II', *EI*, XI, pp. 80-81. The term means the grant of rent free land to the Brāhmaṇas.

80. *Agrahāra* as a privilege is not mentioned in any of the Maitraka records. But it has been mentioned in relation to the places to

which the donee brāhmaṇas belonged. For instance, the Nogwā Plates of Dhruvasena II, G.S. 320, mentions two donee brahmanas, viz., Agnisvāmin and Kumārasvāmin who resided at *Agastikagrahāra* and *Ayānakagrahāra* respectively. (Hultzsch E., 'Two grants of Dhruvasena II', *EI*, VIII, p. 188-89). Sircār, D.C. explains *agrahāra* as a land granted to brahmanas when they returned from the gurukula after finishing studies in order to help them in setting themselves as gṛhasthas. (*S.I.*, p. 342).

81. The term *Brāhma-deya-sthiya* is noted in the Bhamodra-Mohota inscription of Droṇasiṁha, A.D. 502, with the clear mention that the grant would last for ever and that it must be respected by the kings of the family and also by others. (Jackson, A.M.T., 'Two New Valabhi Copper plates', *JBBRAS*, XX, 1897-98, pp. 1-6).

82. The term *Bhūmicchhidra* literally means ground and cleft or according to the principle of a hole in the earth. This popular maxim is variously explained by different scholars. Ghoṣhāl, U.N., has taken it to mean the gift of the full right of ownership such as is acquired by a person making barren land areable for the first time. (*H.R.S.*, p. 195). Barnett who follows the rendering of Kautilya and Yādavaprakāśa, believes that *bhūmicchhidra* would mean the same condition as that under which tenants hold land in wilderness, forests, i.e., *precario* with reservation of the King's right to eject them at will. (*J.A.R.S*, 1931, p.165). It is worth mentioning here that Kautilya in his *Arthaśhāstra (II,2).* as well as Yādavaprakāśa in his *Vaijayanti* suggest that the term *bhūmicchhidra* means land

unfit for cultivation. While Ghoṣāl's view needs further explanation, that of Barnett cannot be accepted. Bhandārkar, R.G., tried to explain that, as holes in the earth are not permanent but are filled up in due course and the earth is whole again, so the grant of this type should survive all the wrath of time and remain unchanged ('On Two Copper Plates from Valabhi', *IA*, I, p. 46 n.) Bühler, on the other hand, states on the familiar instance of ground and the cleft that the 'whole' includes the 'parts' just as a piece of land includes the various clefts therein. Any land granted according to this principle simply means that the land is made over with all its appurtenances, produce and rights. 'A Grant of king Dhruvasena I of Valabhi', *IA*, IV, p. 106 f.n).

83. This right of assignment of land to others is mentioned in a few Maitraka grants, e.g., Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvasena I, *EI*, XI, p. 105-108; also a grant of Dharasena II, *CII*, III, p. 164. This suggests that alongside subinfeudation land could also be sold. However no charter of an exclusive secular land sale has yet keen discovered. This was so because land being the most important wealth, its alienation and the new ownership, were considered as a matter of substantial concern to the whole village or the neighbours. Hence the direct method of sale and purchase between private individuals was prohibited and the local government and leading men of the locality were intimated before any deed actually took place.

84. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 166.

85. *ibid.*, p. 179.

86. *ibid.*, p. 190. This expression indicates reservation regarding the land donated and excludes from it, gifts previously made to the temples and the brāhmaṇas.

87. Bhadkāmkar, H.M., 'The Navalakhi Plates of Śilāditya I', *EI*, XI, p. 177.

88. *idem.*

89. *EI*, I, p. 92.

90. *IA*, I, p. 16.

91. 'Valā Plates of Dhruvasena I', *IA*, IV, 1875, p. 104f.

92. *Journal of University of Bombay* (New Series), I, pp. 18, 27, 31, 34, 56 etc.

93. Kautilya mentions *pindakara* under the heading 'rastra' (country parts) – *Arthaśāstra*, II, 15. This term is explained by his commentator Bhattasvāmin as comprising taxes levied from whole village. Evidently, it stood for a lump sum assessment upon villages as distinguished from principal land tax which was assessed on individual holdings of land.

94. Diskālkar, 'Some unpublished copper plates of the rulers of Valabhi', *JBBRAS*, (N.S.), I., pp. 51-52; also for similar references see, *IA*, I, p. 16; VII, p. 70; VIII, p. 301.

95. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 82-83.

96. The unit *pitaka* is probably another name of the term *Vrihipitaka*. *Vrihipitaka* as a land measurement occurs in a host of Kālachuri, Hūṇa and Gurjara grants along with the Maitraka charters, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 82-83. These systems of measuring the land by the sowing and the yielding capacity were in usage in other parts of ancient India also. For example, *kulyavāpa*, *droṇavāpa* and *adhavāpa* were used in

Bengāl. (*Bhārata Kaumudi*, Pt. II, pp. 943ff.; Sircar, D.C., *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 411).

97. *IA*, XV, p. 333.

98. Literally meaning the measure (māna) of Kaira or Kheḍa (Khetaka).

99. Etymologically, the term suggests the measure by foot, while turning on the foot or complete circle of the movement of feet, i.e., a distance of two steps. (Mehtā suggests that the distance of a *Karam* or *Pādavarta* is 1.90 to 2.90 meters). Long ago *Bombay Gazetteer* also suggested that *pādavarta* literally means the space between one foot and the other, i.e., the modern Kadam or pace. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. 1, p. 83).

100. 'The Gaṇeśhgaḍ Plates of Dhruvasena I', *EI*, III, p. 318.

101. *IA*, XV, p. 188.

102. *EI*, IV, p. 74.

103. *Bhakti* was a unit of measurement probably used in Mālwā, the extent of which cannot be ascertained without proper evidence.

104. *EI*, VIII, p. 189 and 195.

105. *ibid*, p. 189.

106. Ghoṣhāl, U.N., *H.R.S.*, p. 23. According to the same author, this reciprocal relation between taxation and protection as enunciated in the ancient Hindu texts is a striking anticipation of the so-called 'fee theory of taxation' which was widely accepted among Western political theorists of the 17th and 18th centuries like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau etc. (*ibid*, p. 273).

107. *CII*, III, p. 165ff.

108. *idem*.

109. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p. 18ff.

110. Jhā, D.N., *op.cit.*, p. 29.

111. Haripada Chakraborti, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

112. *Amarkoṣa* (I, 5) describes *Kśetra* as a variety of land productive of all types of crops; Pargiter, F.E. translated it as a cultivated land ('Three Copper Plate Grants from East Bengāl' – C. Grant of the time of Gopachandra, the year 19, *IA*, XXXIX, p. 205). The Sorath plate of Dharasena II also records this term (*IA*, VII, p. 68).

113. The term *khila* has been interpreted as waste land (*EI*, XV, p. 144). Pargiter has also taken it to mean waste or follow land (*op.cit.*, 'Second Grant of the time of Dharmāditya – B', *IA*, XXXIX, p. 199). Ghoṣhāl, U.N. also treats it as a fallow land ('On some points connected with the land revenue administration, in Bengāl during the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries A.C.', *I.H.Q.*, V, pt. 1-2, p. 104).

114. *Vastu* land denoted habitable land on which residential houses could be built. R.N. Saletore has defined it as a land which was set apart from building purposes only and therefore known as homestead land. (Saletore, R.N., *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 338).

115. The term *padraka* occurs in the the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV (*IA*, XV, p. 337 ff.), The term Śiva padraka is noted in the Maliya copper plate of Dharasena II (*CII*, III, p. No. 38, p. 170). Fleet explained the term on the authority of Monier Williams as a village, the entrance to a village or the earth of a particular district. Wilson on the other hand translated it as common land or land adjacent to a village, left uncultivated (*Glossary of Indian Terms*, p .286). Sircār, D.C., however, takes the term in the sense of a village or a part of it (*Indian Epigraphy*, p. 376).

Altekar has pointed out that land situated within the boundaries of a village comprised of three divisions, one for habitation, another for cultivation and the third portion allotted for pasture (Altekar, A.S., *A. history of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 176). Bühler interpreted *Padraka* as a grazing place, taking it to be equivalent of the expression *padr* having the same meaning. Commenting on this term, Sircār, D.C., in his work *Indian Epigraphy* observes, "Monier – Williams understood a pādavarta as one square foot." (or the turning round of a foot). But the areas in inscriptions suggest a bigger unit. Fleet therefore thought that 100 *pādavartas* means, "a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet each way, i.e., 10,000 square feet", because of the simple reason that "one hundred (feet) would be rather a small area for a grant." (*CII*, III, p. 170, f.n. 4). Similar view has been expressed by Śāstri, H.G., (*Maitraka Kālin Gujarāt*, pp. 525-26). If a *pādavarta* denoted one square foot, then even ten *pādavartas* of land referred to in the Maliya grant would be too small to be of any appreciable value. Maity says that even if we take ten *pādavartas* as 10 × 10 square feet, and not as 10 square feet, even then such a small area seems hardly worth granting (Maity, S.K., *op.cit.*, p. 60). In fact, *pāda* as a linear measure is only 12 *angulas* or half a *hasta*, i.e., a mere nine inches. Thus 10 pādavartas, on Fleet's interpretation should be only a square of $7^{1}/_{2}$ feet. Even if we take Fleet's interpretation to be true, a land donation of 100 × 100 would in reality mean only 1089 sq. yards which is too small a field for any good use. Its size, about 25 *acre* or 920 sq. meters is too meagre to be recorded in a copper plate. Further,

it is impossible to construct a step-well within 25 sq. ft. *Pādavarta* has another meaning also. The term *pāda* stands for one fourth of a circle or square or anything. Hence it may be taken as one-fourth of a bigger unit (Śrinivāsan, S.S., 'Area Measure in Gujarāt as gleaned from Epigraphical records', *Journal of Epigraphical Society of India*, (*J.E.S.I.* hereafter), XVII, p. 40). So it seems that the above interpretations are inadequate as regards the understanding of the term. A new definition to the term, based on the local tradition and old usages in Gujarāt – Kāthiāwāḍ area, is tried by Mehtā R.N., 'Pādavarta- An Explanation', *JESI*, VII, 1980, pp. 104-107. According to this explanation, a land measure known as *Karam* was used at Valabhi during the times. The term *Karam* seems to be a shortened form of *pādakrama*, i.e., return of the same foot in walking. This term indicates the meaning of *āvarta* in the sense of the completion of one circle (Monier Williams also suggests that *āvarta* means turning, winding or revolving). Thus the term *pādavarta* would mean the return of the same foot.

116. *EI*, XXIII, p. 157.

117. The term *Bhṛṣṭi* occurs for the first time in the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. Assuming it to be the modern Hindi equivalent of *Bhiti* or *Bhit*, Bühler interpreted it as a 'raised ground near a tank, (*IA*, XV, p. 337). But he cites no authority in this connection.

118. *Manu Smṛti*, VII, 130-32; *Nārada Smṛti*, XVIII, 48; *Kātyāyana Smṛti*, Verses, 16-19.

119. Watters, T., *op.cit.*, I, p. 176.

120. *Manu Smṛti*, X, 118.
121. *Arthaśāstra*, V, 2, tr. Shamāśāstry, p. 271ff.
122. Cf., Jhā, D.N., *op.cit.*, p. 42.
123. *IA*, VI, 1877, pp. 13-16.
124. *EI*, XI, pp. 176-77.
125. *CII*, III, p. 179.
126. Ghoṣhāl, U.N., *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, p. 35f.
127. *CII*, III, pp. 126f, Nos. 26, 27, 28.
128. Sircār, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 394.
129. *EI*, VII, p. 160ff.
130. Chakravarty, P., *History of Bengāl*, I, p. 237.
131. Ghoṣhāl, 'Some Hindu Fiscal Terms Discussed', *Proceedings and Transactions of All India Oriental Congress*, 4th Session, II, p. 205.
132. *Manu Smṛti*, VII, 130-131.
133. *S.I.*, p. 392, f.n. 9.
134. Altekar, A.S., *Rāṣtrakutas and Their Times*, Poonā, 1934, pp. 215-16.
135. Ghoṣhāl, *op.cit.*, 4th session, p.214.
136. *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, *āpaddharma* section, Verse 20.
137. Jhā, D.N., *op.cit.*, p. 62.
138. *IA*, VII, 1878, p. 72.
139. Gadre, *P.T.A.O.C.*, 7th session, 1933, Baroda, p. 675.
140. Bhadkāmkar, *op.cit.*, XI, p. 177.
141. Chakraborti, H., *op.cit.*, p. 74.
142. Ghoṣhāl, *op.cit.*, p. 56.
143. Bandhopādyāya, N.C., *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India*, pp. 139-140.

144. Beni Prasād, *State in Ancient India*, p. 302.
145. *S.I.*, I, p. 372 f.n.
146. Ghoshāl, *op.cit.*, pp. 61-62.
147. *EI*, XI, p. 176.
148. *Manu Smṛti*, VII, 137.
149. *CII*, IV, pp. cxliff.
150. *ibid*, III, p. 98, f.n. 1.
151. *H.R.S.*, p. 210.
152. Majumdār, R.C., *History of Bengāl*, p. 277.
153. *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 165ff.
154. Altekar, A.S., *op.cit.*, Poonā, 1934, p. 216.
155. *S.I.*, I, p. 266, f.n. 5.
156. Viadya, C.V., *History of Medieval Hindu India*, p. 131.
157. *IA*, XII, p. 189, n.3.
158. *CII*, III, pp. 97-98; f.n. 6.
159. *ibid.*, same as number 149.
160. *S.I.*, p. 371, n.5.
161. *Maity*, S.K., *op.cit.*, p. 62.
162. *idem.*
163. Kalhaṇ's *Rājatarangiṇi*, tr. by Stein, II, pp. 291-92.
164. *EI*, XI, p. 176.
165. *idem.*
166. Puṣhpā Niyogi, *Contribution to the Economic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1962, p. 187.
167. 'The Maliya Copper Plates of Dharasena II', *CII*, III, No. 38.
168. *ibid*, No. 39, 'The Alina copper plate of Śilāditya VII'.
169. *IA*, IV, p. 106.
170. *CII*, III, p. 170, f.n. 9.

171. *EI*, XI, p. 177.
172. *H.R.S.*, p. 291.
173. Maity, S.K., *op.cit.*, p. 63.
174. Altekar, A.S., *op.cit.*, 1934, p. 229.
175. Saletore, R.N., *op.cit.*, p. 352.
176. Dikshitār, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 178.
177. *Atharvaveda*, III, 29,3.
178. *Gautama Smṛti*, X, 25-26; *Manu Smrti*, VIII, 307.
179. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 22, tr. by Shamāśāstry, p. 124ff.
180. Ghoṣhāl, U.N., *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and Other Essays*, p. 177.
181. *Amarkoṣa*, II, 8, 28.
182. *IA*, XV, 1886, p. 187.
183. *ibid.*, V, 1876, pp. 206-7.
184. *C. I.I.*, III, p. 50.
185. Āchārya, G.V., 'The Dhank Plates of Śilāditya I', *HIG*, I, No. 93.
186. *Arthaśāstra*,, II, 21.
187. *IA*, IV, p. 176.
188. *EI*, VIII, p. 189.
189. *ibid.*, XI, p. 80.
190. *ibid.*, p. 177. The exact expression used in the grant is *sotpadyamānaviṣhṭiḥ* (vishti is equated to the vetha in Marāthi). The adjective means "with the right to forced labour as occasions for it occurs."
191. *ibid.*, I, p. 85.
192. 'The Mota Machiala Plates of Dhruvasena I (c.A.D. 525)', *EI*, XXXI, 1955-56, pp. 299-301.

193. *IA*, V, p. 212; VI, pp. 12, 15 ; *EI*, IV, NO. 8; *JBBRAS*, I, pp. 27, 31, 34, 35; *J.U.B.* (N.S.), III, pp. 82, 84, 87 etc.
194. *CII*, III, p. 189 f.n. and p. 218.
195. Jolly, J., *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 270.
196. *Nārada Smṛti*, Verses 11-12 cf. *Selected Books of the East* (hereafter *S.B.E.*), p. 234.
197. Āchārya, *op.cit.*, No. 93.
198. cf. Virji, *AHS*, p. 246.
199. *EI*, XI, no. 5; *CII*, No. 38; *IA*, V, p. 207; VI, p. 12 etc.
200. *IA*, VII, pp. 75, 79, 85; XV, p. 340; *EI*, VIII, no. 20 A and B.
201. *IA*, XV, p. 337.
202. Ghoṣhāl, U.N., *H.R.S.*, p. 221.
203. Chakraborti, H., *op.cit.*, p. 87.
204. *CII*, III, p. 165.
205. Beal, S., *op.cit.*, II, p. 266.
206. *ibid.*, p. 260.
207. According to Fleet the *dhruvadhikaraṇika* was the officer who has the superintendence of the *dhruvas* (*CII*, III, p. 170, f.n. 1).
208. The literal meaning of *dhruva* is fixed, firm or certain and therefore in the context of land grants with fiscal immunities, it may be taken to denote the basic land tax, consisting of the kings fixed share of grain.
209. Bühler, G., *IA*, V, p. 205; *S.I.*, p. 404, f.n. 1.
210. Ghoṣhāl, U.N., *H.R.S.*, p. 221.
211. Jhā, D.N., *op.cit.*, p. 173.
212. *IA*, X, 1881, pp. 277ff.
213. *ibid.*, I, p. 14; IX, p. 238; XIV, p. 328.
214. Watters, T., *op.cit.*, II, p. 248.

215. *CII*, III, No. 38.
216. *IA*, XV, p. 188.
217. *EI*, XXI, p. 181.
218. *IA*, I, pp. 14ff.
219. *IA*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 129.
220. 'Gaṇeśhgaḍh Plates of Dhruvasena I', *EI*, III, 1894-95, p. 318ff.
221. *IA*, VIII, pp. 68-70 (The Sorath Plates of Dharasena II); *IA*, XIV, pp. 329 ff (Vala Plates of Śilāditya I); *PTAOC*, VIII, 1933, pp. 659-676 (The Virdi Plates of Kharagraha I) etc.
222. *EI*, XI, p. 81.
223. *EI*, VIII, p. 195.
224. *IA*, I, p. 45.
225. *EI*, XXI, p. 181.
226. 'The Iyaveja Plates of Dhruvasena I', *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, pp. 125-27.
227. *CII*, III, p. 164.
228. *Amarkoṣa*, 4, 116.
229. Yuan Chwang while describing the Maitraka kingdom states that the soil was blackish; Watters, T., *op.cit.*, II, p. 248.
230. Here a description is given of non-edible crops. The food crops have been discussed in the chapter on society.
231. *CII*, III, p. 39.
232. *Harṣhacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 130.
233. *Kādambari*, tr. by Kāle, p. 26.
234. *Daśakumāracharita*, tr. by Ryder, p. 52.
235. Watters, T., *op.cit.*, I, p. 147.
236. *Harṣhacharita*, *op.cit.*, p. 208.
237. 'The Bhadreniyaka Plates of Śilāditya I', *EI*, XXI, p. 117.

238. *Harṣha Charita*, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

239. *Daśakumāracharita*, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

240. Watters, T., *op.cit.*, I, p. 146.

241. *IA*, XIV, p. 328.

242. cf. Virji, K.J., *AHS*, pp. 246-47 and 267ff.

243. Sharmā, R.S., *Indian Feudalism*, p. 62.

244. *IA*, XV, p. 337.

245. *ibid.*, V, p. 206.

246. *EI*, XXI, p. 181.

247. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 78.

248. Beal, S., *op.cit.*, II, p. 266.

249. Daṇdin's *Daśakumāracharita*, tr. by Ryder, p. 255 (The book was written before A.D. 700).

250. Somedeva's *Kathāsaritasāgar*, 85; 130 (In this work Somedeva speaks of a merchant named Devasena of Pātaliputra who is shown as going to Valabhi for business activities). Again another later work *Prabandha chintāmaṇi* of Marutunga speaks of a poor Mārwāḍi from Pali called Kākuraṇka who came to Valabhi to try his luck. Within a short period he prospered, and it is narrated by the bards, that once dissatisfied by the king, he invited the Mlechchhas to destroy the city and assisted them with money, tr. by. Tawney, C. H., Calcutta, 1901, p. 127ff.

251. cf. Virji, K.J., *op.cit.*, p. 220.

252. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 78, note 1.

253. Watters, T., *op.cit.*, I, p. 178; Beal, S., *op.cit.*, I, p. 89.

254. Bāṇa, *op.cit.*, p. 124; Beal, S., *op.cit.*, I, p. 77.

255. The clothes made at Broach were famous by the name of *Baroz* during those days. In fact, Chau' Ju-Kua, though a Chinese

pilgrim of later times, clearly mentions that Guajrāt was famous for the manufacture of Calico. (*Chau Ju-Kua*, tr. By Hirth, F. and Rockhill, W.W., St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 92).

256. Motichandra, *op. et. loc. cit.*

257. Beal, S., *op.cit.*, II, p. 259.

258. *IA*, IX, p. 238ff.

259. *CII*, III, No. 38, p. 164 (The Maliya Copper Plate of Dharasena II).

260. Jayaswāl, K.P., *An Imperial History of India*, Appendix on *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-Mūla-Kalpa* (hereafter *AMMK*), p. 67.

261. *CII*, III, No. 39.

262. cf. Virji, *op.cit.*, p. 220.

263. Jayaswāl, K.P., *op.cit.*, *AMMK*, p. 25. The passage (No. 16) also refers to the trade links of the Maitrakas with the region of Parshagah or Persia. Again the port of Śurapāraka (Sopārā) is mentioned in the same passage. It is said that it became an entrepot during the times and it acquired that name for being the port of embarkation for Assyria.

264. McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erithryacan Sea*, pp. 96-107.

265. Sankalia, H.D., *PHAG*, p. 94-95. It is quite curious to note that in the end, it was the Arabs who destroyed Valabhi.

266. Altekar, A.S. and Majumdār, R.C., *op.cit.*, p. 357.

267. Sten Konow, "The Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvasena I", *EI*, XI, p. 112.

268. *IA*, IV, p. 175.

269. It has been suggested that even the word *nagara* was derived from the Sanskrit word *langala*, meaning a plough and that it

originally meant a settlement thriving on agricultural activities, Paul Whalley, 'Place-names in U.P., Āgrā and Oudh', *J.U.P.H.S.*, 2, pt. 2, 1921, pp. 19-29.

270. *IA*, XIV, p. 328.

271. *EI*, XXI, p. 181.

272. *IA*, IX, p. 238ff.

273. *CII.*, III, pp. 167, 179.

274. *IA*, IV, p. 176.

275. *CII*, III, p. 242.

276. Whether or not the Guptas were the overlords of the Maitraka is a moot point. Various scholars have divergent views on the issue, which have already been dealt with in the chapter on the political history o the Maitrakas.

277. Sharmā, R.S., *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 60-63.

278. *ibid.*, p. 25.

279. *ibid*, p. 56.

280. Sircār, D.C., *Journal of Indian History* (hereafter *J.I.H.*), XLIV, 1966, pp. 351-57; Coulbourn, R., *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, X, 1967-68, pp. 356-74.

281. Burton Stein, 'The segmentary state in South Indian History', in R.G. Fox, ed., *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 3-51; *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 18: 3-4, 1981, pp. 411-26.

282. See the works of Sharmā, R.S. – *Indian Feudalism* : C. 300-1200, Calcutta, 1965; Yādava, B.N.S., *Society and Culture in North India in the Twelfth Century*, Allāhabād, 1973; Jhā, D.N., ed. *Feudal Social Formation in Early India*, Delhi, 1987.

283. Hermann Kulke, 'Fragmentation and segmentation versus integration?' Reflections on the concept of Indian feudalism and the segmentary state in Indian history, *Studies in Indian History* (*S.I.H.*, hereafter), Vol. IV, pt. 2, 1982, p. 245.

284. Chattopādhyāya, B.D., 'Political processes and the structure of polity in early medieval India', *The Making of Early Medieval India*, New Delhi, 1994.

285. Sharmā, R.S., *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 4-6; *Feudalism and Non-European Societies*, London, 1985, p. 22; also Yādav, B.N.S., 'Immobility and subjection of Indian peasantry in early medieval complex', *I.H.R.*, Vol. 1, pt. 1, 1974, pp. 18-28; Jha D.N. *Feudal Social Formation in Early India*, Delhi, 1987, p. 202.

286. For details see, Nandini Sinhā, 'Early Maitrakas, Land grant Charters and Regional State Formation in Early Medieval Gujarāt', *S.I.H.* (New Series), Vol. 17, Number 2, July-December 2001.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE TIMES OF THE MAITRAKAS

India is a mosaic of almost all types and stages of religious aspirations and endeavour. In fact some of the major religions of the world like Hinduism, Buddhisms and Jainisms have originated in India. As Radha Kumud Mookerji puts it "India is a museum of cults and customs, creeds and cultures faiths and tongues, racial types and social systems."[1] All these varieties have made India "the epitome of the world".

Indian civilization has been essentially regarded as spiritual. Progress she admits, but this spiritual progress not the extremely self unfolding process of an always more and more prosperous and efficient materialistic life. Under such circumstances, religion, which is described as the seeking after the spiritual and the supranational, has gained the most prominent place among the various facets of our culture. The Indian mind when tackling his every day problems seeks solace and solution directly and immediately in religion, for as Śri Aurobindo says, " Religion is that instinct, idea, activity, discipline in man which aims directly at the Divine while all the rest seem to aim at it only indirectly and reach it with difficulty after much wandering and stumbling in the pursuit of the out ward and imperfect appearances of things".[2]

The religious life of the people of ancient India, like their social life, was a sum total of local traditions. The religious beliefs of the people of different regions were so varied that we can draw only general inferences from the vast literature and large archaeological finds. But among such diversity there also existed a strong

undercurrent of religious unity among the various religious sects in the country.

The post Gupta epoch which is characterized by the emergence of quasi feudalistic tendencies dynasties and the growth of small provincial dynasties in India was also marked by the existence of a seemingly perplexed generation, disgusted at its failures to find satisfaction and groping for light. In such conditions, the history of religions under the Maitrakas of Valabhi, who sprang up during these times, constitute one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of ancient Indian history. The Maitraka rulers were tolerant, catholic and broad minded in their out look. Their religion was not static and they never practiced diabolism. They used reason in their religious thought, strived to rid religion of obscurantism and tired at lifting faiths above superstition.

The Maitraka religious ideology was founded on two general principles, viz, self restraint and consideration towards others; which are infact the basis of Indian culture. The Maitraka kings made no discrimination on religious grounds and all important sects and faiths of the times like, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Buddhism, Jainism, Saura worship etc. were encouraged. All these religious forms prevailed in juxtaposition during their rule and no partiality was shown to any one religion.

Śaivism

The earliest proof of the existence of Śaivism in India is provided by the ruins of the ancient city of MohanjoDaro from where stray seals bearing the images of Śiva, in anthropomorphic form sitting in a Yogi like posture[3], have been unearthed. But these vestiges can be regarded as too primitive. Unfortunately, the

archaeological and epigraphical evidences from Kāthiāwāḍ during early mediaeval times lack substance and add very little to prove the existence and development of Śaivism in this area. However, monuments from Mālwā, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh speak of its flourishing state before we get substantive evidence of its existence in Saurāṣtra and Gujarāt[4].

Maitrakas who burst on the scene in the post Gupta era are believed to be staunch worshippers of Lord Śiva, for most of the Maitraka inscriptions depict the kings of the dynasty as bearing the title of *paramamaheśvara*[5] (or the devout worshipper of the God Maheśvara (Śiva)), before their names. All our evidences indicate that barring two or three monarchs the rest of the kings of Valabhi were fervent devotees of Lord Śiva.

Apart from this, *Nandi*, the Bull, (the sacred vehicle of Lord Śiva) and the trident (*Triśūla*) the well known emblems of god Śiva, were respectively found on the seals and coins of the dynasty. The Valabhi copper plate seal has the device of a seated Bull with legend '*Śri Bhattākah*' (the name of the founder) inscribed below it. Similarly the trident (*Triśūla*), another emblem of Śaivism is found on Valabhi coins.

Bühler,[6] M. R. Majumdār[7] and Sankalia[8] are of the common view that the cult objects in Śiva temples at Valabhi were *lingas* and not images. These lingas were generally accompanied by the Nandi (assosiated with Śiva as his vehicle). That such Nandis abounded in these temples is indicated by the plethora of them scattered over the ruins of Valabhi (Valā). Some of them may be dated back to the sixth and seventh centuries. A few of them are life size (about 1 metre and 83 cms) one's from which the dimensions and the grandeur of the

temples can be imagined. H.G. Śhāstri has drawn our attention to a 2 metres and 44 cms long Nandi. Later Gaudani and Dhaky have discovered a *Nandi* from Sandhoda[9], about 16 kms. from Valā. This figure probably belong to the seventh century A.D. What is conspicuous is the fact that while almost all the *lingas* have remained intact, the recumbent and the reclining *Nandi* figures are generally found distorted.

An insight into the nature of Valabhi Śaivism is provided by only one inscription.[10] In it, Śilāditya I (c. A.D. 605-614) grants land along with a *Yamala-Vāpi* to a temple of Mahādeva. The inscription dedicated by one Harināṭha (a Brāhmaṇ), is the only grant in which the family deity (Lord Śiva) has been mentioned as the recipient of the royal bounty. All the others record donations to Brāhmaṇs or to Buddhist Sanghas. The purpose of the grant was two fold; viz., votive as well as maintenance. While on one hand it allowed for the repairs of the temple building, on the other, it made provisions for the worship of temple god by means of : bathing water (*Snāpana*), pounded sandal wood (*gandha*), perfume smoke proceeding from resin *(dhūpa)*, flowers *(puṣpa)*, garland *(mālya)*, lamps (*dipa*), music *(gita)*, dance *(nṛtya)* etc. The temple was a private one. But this is not some thing unorthodox and as a *raison dêtre* it must be emphasised that early worship of the Brāhmaṇic gods was essentially private, performed in the seclusion of one's home, of which this Valabhi plate is a typical instance. Later with the growth of public temples in Cālukyan times, the worship became both public and private, a character which Gujarāt (and perhaps India), retains till today[11]. From the sociological point of view this is precisely why, as

compared to the stūpas, vihāras and sadgharamas of the Buddhists, of which several are mentioned in the Maitraka records; the Brāhmaṇic shrines were very small. While the former provided for a congregations, i.e., for a mass prayer hall, the latter provided for individual worhsip[12]. This charter throw welcome light on the prevalence of the Saiva cult in early mediaeval India.

The flourishing state of Śaivism during this period is also indicated by the contemporary literary sources and folklore. Sodhala, the author of the work *UdayaSundarikathā*, traces his descent from king Śilāditya's brother Kālāditya, whom he praises as an incarnation of the Gaṇa called Kāyastha, a follower of Śiva [13]. Further we are informed that in all probability Śankarāchārya, when he went to establish the *Śāradāmatha* at Dwārika,[14] visited Valabhi *en route*[15]. We also learn from one of the story-literature that a mammoth Siva temple of Achaleśvara Mahādeva was erected by a Valabhi king in the centre of the capital city.[16] Unfortunately no vestiges of this temple have been left except the vague statement of Yuan Chwang that there existed several hundred deva temples with very many sanctuaries of different sorts.[17] At Valabhi, traces of old Śiva temples of Siddheśvara, Rāmeśvara, Ratneśvara, Bileśvara and Buddhanātha were found which may be assigned to the Maitraka period. The Siva temple at Vātapadra in Saurāṣtra also belongs to the same period.

In Valā another old Śiva temple with a step well was found at MotiDarāi[18] and later a polished granite *linga* of greenish colour was also discovered.[19] These things prove that Śaivism was held in high esteem by Valabhi kings as well as the people. According to Bhagwān lāl Indrāji and A.M.T Jakson, Valabhi Śaivism was of the

old Pāśupata school of Nakuliśa or Lakuliśa sect[20]. However, in the absence of any sufficient evidence on the issue, the assumption cannot be accepted.[21] The epithet *paramamaheśvara* is also a general one and it cannot be associated with any particular sect of Śaivism.[22]

Some scholars date even the celebrity of Somanātha from the period of the Maitraka rulers.[23] This is further corroborated by an inscription at Somanāth which speaks of the repairs carried out by Bhimadeva.[24] The inscription is especially dated as Vs 850. The lack of any archaeological evidences in this regard has often been subscribed to the use of non durable material in the construction of these temples, as it is said that, down to the ninth century A.D., with one or two exceptions, temples and religious edifices in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ were made of brick and wood only.[25]

But what is verily quite amazing is the fact that out of the whole galaxy of Maitraka grants, discovered so far, none has been made to the Somanāth temple and only one, mentioned earlier, can be ascribed to Śaivism. Is it not surprising then, that the Maitrakas, majority of whom were believed and claimed to be Śaivites , by a lot of scholars, made just one grant to a Śiva temple. Mrs. Virji, who goes to the extent of suggesting that Śaivism was the state religion, or more precisely the royal religion[26] of the Maitrakas tries to prove in her own peculiar way the prevalence of Śaivism in Valabhi and its patronage by the Maitraka kings, despite the lack of epigraphical evidences. According to her this was perhaps due to the fact that Śaivism being the royal religion, the Śaivite temples were maintained by the state from the general revenue and no special grants were made to them.[27] Further, she adds that it is also possible that some of these grants may

have been made to the Śaivite temples but they were probably lost in the confusions that followed the downfall of the Maitraka rule. But this is quite conjectural and the argument does not hold much ground. Why is that out of the hundred and fifteen odd inscriptions of this dynasty, the grants to Śiva temples got lost and scores to brahmans survived?

Though almost all the scholars are united in declaring Śavisim as the royal religion of the Maitrakas, their trite remarks in this regards are some what dubious. Certain questions, apart from the one already mentioned above, still remain unanswered. The epithet *Parama maheśvara* (meaning thereby the devout worshipper of Lord Śiva) has been repeated unnecessarily, on occassions.[28] The question arises, why? Does this imply that a concerted and conscious effort has been made deliberately by the writers of these grants, who were no more than mere panegyrists, to impress upon people about the overall dominance of Saivism during Maitraka times. Also the terms *Paramamaheśvara* and *Parameśvara* have been used as synonyms by Fleet[29] in his interpretation of Maitraka grants. Of course the terms are equated erroneously. Still their occasional interchangeability proves that the term *paramameheśvara*, used exceedingly in Maitraka records, could be a general one, used by the kings as a political title and does not necessarily denote any religious afflictions.

Further, some of the coins of the Maitraka dynasty, besides having the royal insignia of a trident *(triśūla)*, an emblem of Śaivism, inscribed on their reverse side, also have a new symbol added to it. This device is an axe *(paraśu)*, which according to G.V. Āchārya[30] is an emblem of Paraśurāma and hence a symbol of Vaiṣṇavism.[31] This sufficiently proves the spread of Vaiṣṇava faith in the area. Still, the

question of Bappā and Bavā also posed further problems. In course of many a Maitraka grants occurs the epithet *paramabhattāraka mahārājadhirāja parameśvara sri bappā (bavā) pād ānudhyata.* The meaning and reference of the title Bappā, in this epithet, have been discussed at great length. The question is treated in detail by Fleet[32]. Among the various theories, there is one which follows that chiefs and leaders of Pāśupat sect of Śaivite faith, who were renowned for their war like nature, were regarded as pontiffs like *Bappāpada* or *Bappā*, or priests of the later Valabhi kings. In these circumstances the most probable explanation of the *Bappā* or *Bavā* of these inscriptions is that it was applied to Śaivite pontiffs or ecclesiastical dignitaries. Though especially associated with Śaivas, the title *bappā* is applied also to Vaiṣṇava dignitaries.[33] That the term *bappa* was in use among the Buddhist appears from the title of a Valabhi vihāra, *Bappā padiya vihāra*, the monastery of the worshipful Bappā, i.e., of the great teacher Sthirmati, by whom it was built.[34]

All this proves that, though Śaivism was held in high esteem (it may have been the royal religion of the Maitrakas), the Maitrakas were broad minded and catholic in their outlook, and all kings from Guhasena I down words, irrespective of their personal beliefs, patronised Buddhism. Grants and donations were made to Vaiṣṇavas and Jains also.[35]

Goddess Worship

Goddesses also played an important part in the Maitraka brāhmaṇism[36]. Though the archaeological evidences in this regards are scanty, a few epigraphical records prove the prevalence of this cult during Maitraka times. The inscriptions of the dynasty mention two such goddesses Panarajya[37] or Pāṇduraja[38] and Kottammabikādevi.[39]

King Droṇasiṁha, in the Bhamodra Mohota copper plates (dt. c. 502 A.D), donated a village named Trisangamaka (Tarsamiā near Hstavapra or modern Hathab) for the maintenance and upkeep of the temple of the former goddess. Together with gold and other gifts, the grant also provided for the supply of the offerings to *viśadevas*, *bali*, *chāru*, and perfumes, incense, lamps, garlands etc. Prior to the publication of the mentioned grant, this goddess was not known to us. This makes it evident that as early as the end of the fifth century, temples of goddesses existed in Kāthiāwāḍ. Further, it has been observed by scholars, that during the times, there were numerous Śaktipithas in Saurāṣtra.[40].

As far as the temple of the other goddess mentioned is concerned, it was constructed by Droṇasiṁha in the Svathala (boundary) of Trisangamaka (modern Tarsamiā)[41]. For reasons unknown, the royal grant to the temple was discontinued. It was resumed and granted a permanent stature by Dhruvasena. II (c. A. D. 639-40), who also had the temple repaired. Ruins of this temple dedicated to Kottaradevi were in existence when Jackson edited the grant[42]. In the absence of any description by him, of the temple or the image of the goddess, we can only assume that she might have been some *śakti* of Śiva or a local goddess like Pānduraja. Another example of goddess worship is obtained from the legend about the Valabhi queen Puṣpavati, the wife of king Śilāditya, the last ruler of the dynasty, who went to Arāsur to pay homage to goddess Bhavāni[43].

Sun Worship

Though the epigraphical evidences are slender, the images of the Sun have been found from every corner of Gujarāt and these belong to various periods from C. A. D. 400 to 1500. This wide

spread prevalence of the Sun cult all over Gujarāt is further attested by the distribution of monumental remains of the cult at Modhera, Than (Ten) and Prabhās and by a number of stone sculptures pertaining to the panthon. This has led some scholars like Gaudani to hold the view that Sun worship in some form or another has continued in the region.[44] According to him during the pre Solanki (Cālukya) and Solanki periods, the Sun was worshipped in twelve or thirteen forms.

During the Maitraka times also the cult was in prominence. In fact, the very word Maitraka is suggested by various scholars to have been derived from the word *Mitra*[45] meaning, the Sun. However, due to the lack of any substantial evidence in this regard, nothing definite can be surmised and the assumption cannot be accepted *in toto.* Moreover, out of the twenty one kings of the dynasty only one, namely Dharapatta (Batta)[46], fifth ruler in line, seems to have professed the *Surya* faith. He was neither the founder of the dynasty nor a king of great importance.

Still, his adoption of the title *param ādityabhakta*[47] shows that along with Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, the Maitraka kings also patronized the Surya cult. Further, the names of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi depict that the family used the suffixes *sena, simha, āditya,* and once or twice *bhatta* and *graha.* Of these, *āditya*[48] was the most common. Now the question arises, has it any thing to do with the popular tradition that Maitraka rulers were worshippers of the Sun and had a *yajñakunda,* which was defiled and hence the family perished?[49]. Also the founder of the dynasty, Senāpati Bhatārka, was a staunch Śaivite but the term Bhattāraka or Bhatārkka in Sanskrit means 'Sun among the learned' and 'Sun among the soldiers'.[50] This reference to Sun in the name of the founder of the dynasty along side

the name Śilāditya[51] (name of at least seven kings of the dynasty) and the term Bālāditya,[52] the *nom de plume* or the *aparānāma* used by a few of their monarchs, testify the fact that even if Śaivism was proclaimed to be the dominant religion of the Maitrakas; the Sun pantheon was also popular among them.

In all probability the cult existed even prior to the rise of Bhāgavatism, for the Chandogya Upaniṣad, refers to Kriṣṇa, son of Devaki, as a disciple of Ghora Angirasa, a worshipper of Sun[53]. With the continuence of Śaivism, Jainism and Buddhism and the rise of Vaiṣṇavism during Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa times, the Sun faith did lose some of its aura. But it still prevailed in central and western India in some form or the other, as is indicated by the Mandasor stone inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I[54] and Indor copper plate grant of Skandgupta, which show that the Sun cult was patronised by the guilds during Gupta times.[55] The contemporary evidences goes on to show that the Hūṇa king Toramaṇa as well as the Puśhyabhuti rulers of Kanauj, who ruled in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. were also devotees of the Sun[56].

Further more, the Brāhmaṇa donor of the endowment for the Sun temple at Indrapura always recited "the hymns of the *hotra sacrifices.*"[57]. The mention of such *hotras*, viz., *agnihotra, bali, chāru, vaiśvadeva,* and *atithi,* in the Maitraka land grants[58] would reveal that the brāhmaṇas who performed these hotra rites may themselves have worshipped the Sun God. The reference to a Sun temple in a land grant of king Śilāditya I further supports the existence of Sun worship.[59] The temple discussed was a private one and it shed light on the practice of worshipping Sun god in early mediaeval Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ. No vestiges of such a temple are found in the

ruins of Valabhi. Still we come across a good number of Sun temples, discovered in western India from Multan down to Kutch and northern Gujarāt, which would show, according to Burgess, that there may have existed some such temples at Valabhi as well[60].

One of the copper plate grant of Dharasena II refers to a solar eclipse.[61] On the very day of this solar eclipse the grant was issued and what is interesting is the fact that it is probably the earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigrahical record. This also proves that the Maitrakas were well versed with the Sun faith. Besides Sun's consorts, his son Revanta,[62] was also worshipped in some parts of Kāthiāwāḍ, as is referred to in an inscription of Śārangadeva from Vanthli.[63] Later on, worship of Sun ultimately merged into Vaiṣṇavism as proved by some temples in Gujarāt which are still called by the name of Surya nārāyaṇa,[64] the cult image being a combination of Surya and Viṣṇu. Despite all this, the Sun faith preserved a certain individuality of its own, though it is believed to have been confined to a small section of the people only.

Vaiṣṇavism

The province of Gujarāt Kāthiāwāḍ has been regarded by the Purāṇas as the second abode of lord Kṛṣṇa.[65] But unfortunately, the evidences of the prevalence of this cult in Gujarāt Kāthiāwāḍ before the advent of the Guptas in fourth and fifth centuries, are scanty. This was probably the period of origination of Vaiṣṇavism in this region. Along side the Guptas, their contemporaries Traikutakas[66], who ruled from Lāta, also seem to be Vaiṣṇavas, as could be deduced from their titles like *'Parama Bhāgvata'* and *'Parama Vaiṣṇava'*[67]. The existence or the introduction of the Viṣṇu worship in Kāthiāwāḍ is proved by one of the inscriptions of Skandagupta, which mentions a

temple of Viṣṇu built by Chakrapālita (son of Praṇadatta, acting as *Charge-de-affairs* of the city of Junāgaḍ), at Girinagra.[68] The inscription begins with an invocation of Viṣṇu, and the *Vāmana* or the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu is being worshipped in the inscription. As for Vaiṣṇavism in mediaeval Gujarāt, the chironiclers have not much to say except about the later period when Narasiṁha Mehtā greatly popularised the worship of Kṛṣṇa. Among the loose images of Viṣṇu the oldest image is the one, found by R. N. Mehtā at Ten or Than. It is said to be of the third and fourth century and made of black stone. It is a standing image with a tall *mukuta.*[69].

It has been said that Brahmanism originated out of Vedism. Brāhmaṇism believed in the triune equality of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva. This equality was done away with and the equilibrium of the trio was disturbed with the advent of Śaivism, which grew out of Bhāhmaṇism, and tried at making Śiva, the Supreme Lord 'Maheśhvara'. Although the superiority of Śiva remained long undisputed, Vaiṣṇavism did exist in juxtaposition. God Viṣṇu, orginally reported as a personification of the Sun,[70] was considered to be a great god during the Vedic period. But he was not consider to be the supreme or the sole god. Infact he was considered inferior to Indra in the Ṛg Veda. It was during the later Vedic period only, that Lord Viṣṇu gained prominence, and according to a certain legend he came out trumps in the contest among the gods and was there upon styled the most excellent of the gods. Though Vaiṣṇavism is believed to have grown out of Śaivism, it is regarded as the only real religion of the Hindus, for, it has been said that Vedism was little more than reverential awe of the forces of Nature, Brāhmaṇism and Śaivism were simply philosophies, while Śaktism and Gaṇeśism, both of

which were grafted on Śaivism, were mere amalgams of mysticism, licentiousness and demonolatry. As for the sect called Vaiṣṇavism, we know that it was the name given to the Bhakti cult which recognises Viṣṇu, also called Bhāgavat Nārāyaṇa or Hari, as the sole God.[71]

During the Maitraka period, we come across some faint traces of the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in Valabhi. Only one of the Maitraka rulers, Dhruvasena I, seems to have been a fervent Vaiṣṇava, as can be deduced by the title, 'Parama bhāgvata' which he bears in his inscription dated G.E. 207 i.e. 526-27 A.D.[72] We are at a loss to say when and how he was converted to this faith. Mention of the word Kṛṣṇa in one of the ten fragments of stone inscription from Valā, also suggest a probable existence of Vaiṣṇavism during the time.[73] Some important information is also imparted by a grant of the feudatory ruler of the Maitrakas, *viz.*, Senāpati Simhaditya of the Garulaka dynasty.[74] The record avers that Kṛṣṇa lived in Dwārika, which in that period (c A. D. 600), was the capital of the western coast of Kāthiāwāḍ. This is the first and perhaps the only epigraphical reference to Kṛṣṇa's Dwārika and its supposed survival upto the seventh century A. D.

The traces of *paraśu* (the axe) on some of the coins of the Maitraka dynasty further supports the view that the Maitrakas were not entirely averse to the Vaiṣṇava faith, as the *paraśu* is the emblem of Paraśurāma (one of the incarnation of lord Viṣṇu), and hence symbol of Vaiṣṇavism. But Virji states that this view can also be advanced in favour of Śavism, as Paraśurāma happened to be a great devotee of Lord Śiva, as narrated in the Rāmāyana.[75] Also, most of the scholars are united in claiming Śaivism to be the royal religion of the

Maitrakas. Some of them even suggest that the term 'Parama Bhāgwata' was a general one and it cannot be applied to a particular sect or religion.[76]

But the protagonists of the theory of Śaivism as the royal religion of the Maitrakas are oblivious of the fact that Vaiṣṇavism was also the accepted religion of both royalty and the common folk and effectively left its impression on the people in the Maitraka times. That Vaiṣṇavism was a force to recon with is seen by various facts which cannot be controverted. Some of these facts have already been mentioned. Apart from these, there is the literary evidence which strengthens the case in favour of Vaiṣṇava cult. The well known work called *Rāvan vadha* or *Bhaṭṭi kāvya*, composed at Valabhi by Bhaṭṭi,[77] during the regime of king Dharasena, who was in all probability, Dharasena IV (641-650 A. D.)[78], deals with the plot of *Rāmāyaṇa*. This shows that people took keen interest in the adventures of Rāma, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu.

The personal names like Viṣṇu, Madhava, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva etc., in the Valabhi land grants also prove the influence of Vaiṣṇavism in the country during the Maitraka rule. Allusions to the *avatārs* or stories of Viṣṇu are found in the eulogistic portions of their inscriptions. The writer of the Maitraka king Kharagraha II's (A. D. 655-658)[79] grant, has equated the king to Lord Visnu and describes him as *Puruṣottama* (the best of men or Viṣṇu) who bears the *Sudarśana Chakra* (the wheel or the disc). In one of the grants of Dharasena IV (c. 643 A. D.), the king is described as *Chakravartin*[80]. Though the term denotes an universal ruler, the symbol Charka (the discus) is the sign of Lord Viṣṇu who is regarded as the lone

Chakravartin. On this basis, the king Dharasena IV can also be regarded as the follower of Vaiṣṇavism.

Furthermore, the dispute between Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I, (brothers by relation), regarding the succession to the throne and the final eventuality of Śilāditya I, conceding the question in favour of his younger brother Kharagraha I is allegorically treated. An analogy has been drawn whereby the dispute was equated to the one between Upendra (Viṣṇu) and his elder brother Indra. The contest was concerning the tree of Indra's paradise in which Viṣṇu (in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa) was victorious and had homage paid to him by Indra.[81]

Though exclusive Viṣṇu shrines in Gujarāt are few and figures of Viṣṇu and his avatars are generally found in Surya and Śiva temples, the existence of Dwārika[82] and Śāmalāji[83] in Gujarāt and their proximity to Valabhi, show that Vaiṣṇavism was flourishing in this part of the country during Maitraka times. Wedded to this, is the fact that the Maitraka monarchs were *Smartas* by religion, by which term we mean that they worshipped Śiva and Viṣṇu, Devi or the Sun without any difference and invoked a particular deity for a particular purpose.

Jainism

The Jaina religious heritage from Gujarāt is rich a well as antique. The Jaina sutras and the later literature confirms that Jainism spread in Gujarāt Kāthiāwāḍ region from remote antiquity; for it is believed that the scene of the Renunciation of Neminātha, the twenty first Jaina Tirathānkar, was laid in Kāthiāwāḍ.[84] As of now, however, there is no archaeological evidence to substantiate this statement.

It is quite likely that the first wave of Jainism passed over Gujarāt Kāthiāwāḍ when Bhadrabhahu went to the south in the fourth century B.C.[85] Again, it is believed that in the third century B.C., one significant Jaina *Śākhā* (branch), by the name of *Saurāṣtrika*, originated from Ṛśigupta, a disciple of Suhastin. This also shows that Jainism reached Gujarāt before the end of the third century B.C. But definite evidence of its existence, in this area is available from Kśatrapa period only. The proof consists primarily in the use of Jaina technical term, '*Kevalajñana*'[87] etc., in an inscription of Jayadaman's grandson[88] which was found in a cave at Junāgaḍh.

As to the prevalence of Jainism in Valabhi, the traditional account about the origin of the Śwetāmbara sect in the city of Valabhi in 136 V.E[89] (79-80 A.D.) or the Vira era 609[90] (82-83 A.D.) suggests the importance of the city as a centre of Jainism. Also in the Jaina literature, Valabhi is described as a great *tirtha* (a holy place)[91].

Though Valabhi is traditionally known as the abode of Jainism in early medieval times, especially, after its shifting from Magadha, the Valabhi inscriptions are absolutely silent about it. Out of nearly a hundred and twenty land grant charters, not a single one refers to a Jaina *Sangha* or a religious order, or images, etc., as some of them do to the Buddhist images, *Sanghas* and *Vihāras*. This non confirmation by epigraphical evidence, let alone archaeological, is really baffling.[92] One can only say that the influence of Jainism in Valabhi may not have been as great as that of Budhism.

It appears that the sacred works of the Jainas were not reduced to writing for their desire of strictly observing their mahāvrata, like *aprigraha*. This prevented them from restoring to writing and those saints who preserved the manuscripts were denounced.[93] But as the

destiny would have it, the rules came to be modified, so much so that permission was given even for keeping any of the five types of the manuscripts, pertaining to the *Nijjttis* of *Kaliyasuya*[94] in the event the retentive capacity, the grasping power and the intellect getting deteriorated. Later on, it was found absolutely necessary to prepare a number of manuscripts of the Jaina canonical literature.

From the Jaina literature we come to know of a famine (which lasted for twelve years)[95], occurring during the times of Skandila Sūri. The epigraphical records obtained from Mahasthan[96] and the Sohgaura[97] inscriptions are in conformity of this fact. These grants mention the relief measures taken in this connection. Some scholars believe that the famine worked havoc on the Jaina scriptures while others maintain that all the principal preceptors except Skandila Suri died in northern India[98] due to this disaster. In the midst of such strife it became very difficult to remember the true knowledge and people began to forget the old doctrines. So Skandila Suri summoned a council of the Jaina saints at Mathurā[99] and made up the Kalyasuya by taking a note of whatever could be gathered from them. An identical attempt was made by Nāgārjuna at Valabhi[100] where the redaction or the restoration of the canonical works *(Siddhānta)* was done. Both these councils were held about the same time (840 or 827 V. E), i.e., c. 300 or 313 A. D.[101] Unfortunately the two reductions did not tally in their entirety. Hence a collation was done in a later council held at Valabhi under the presidentship of Devardhigani KśhamāŚramaṇa in about 453 (or 466 A.D)[102]. This event occurred after the terrible famine, (which lasted for twelve years), came to an end during the reign of the Maitraka ruler Dhruvasena I.

It is further said that queen Chandralekhā, a Vākātaka princes, and the daughter of Chandrakirti[103] of Ujjain, who is mentioned in connection with the schism in Jainism,[104] married this Valabhi king Dhruvasena, identified by some with Dhruvasena I.[105] She is also believed to have taken active part[106] in this council. The name of Dhruvasena I is also associated with another important event in the history of Jainism. It is said that formerly only monks and nuns were entitled to recite and listen to the Kalpasutra[107]. But this sacred work was recited before a public audience at Ānandapura[108] for consoling king Dhruvasena, who had been afflicted by the sad demise of his son Senagaja.[109] Thence forth even the householders became entitled to listen to it.[110]

At this famous council at Valabhi all the important works of the Jainas, which were then available, were put to writing. This event is technically termed as *"pustakārohaṇa of the Jaina Āgams"* or the redaction of the Jaina canon.[111] At this council not only the works written at the earlier Mathurā and Valabhi councils were rewritten and codified but some more were added to the previous list. A concerted effort was made to collate and reconcile the difference in the two versions pertaining to the two councils held previously. In cases where this failed, one of the variants was noted in the original Āgamas and the other in the commentary. Practically in this Jaina council, the literature was written according to the version of Mathurā council[112] while the *Jaiṣakarandaga* (which imparts astronomical knowledge) is based on the Valabhi version.[113] The codified canon was looked upon as the final authority and the practice of referring the controversial question to a third party was set aside. The codification was done to protect the sacred works from further modernizations. Thus as a

result of the Jaina council at Valabhi, the sacred lore was enshrined into manuscript form[114]. It was accepted by the Śvetāmbaras but rejected by the Digāmbaras. This finally split the Jain community into these two sects.

Another proof of the existence of Jainism in Valabhi is provided by the literary works which refer to the story of Māllavadin. Mālla was one of the most eminent Jaina dialecticians and the author of *Nayachakra*. The title of Vadin was conferred on him when, according to tradition, he defeated a Buddhist monk in a controversial debate on the superiority of a religious question at Valabhi. As many as three different stories of Māllavadin at Valabhi have come down to us. A brief description of them is as follows :-

According to the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* of Merutunga, king Śilāditya of Valabhi once decided to convene a public meeting to settle the dispute between the Buddhists and the Jainas (Śvetāmbaras). At this meeting the two were made to confront each other to establish the truth and superiority of their respective sects; the vanquished of the two was to be banished from the country for good. Consequently when the Jainas were defeated and were forced to leave Valabhi, king Śilāditya's young nephew, Mālla, who was a Jaina by birth, remained behind alone. As he grew into manhood, he was raked by the arrogance of the Buddhists. Further more, he never forgot the atrocious behaviour of the Buddhists who drove out his Jaina compatriots and so he decided to take revenge on them. However, as there were no Jainas in the city, he had to receive his education from the Buddhists. Never theless, he prepared himself to defeat them by self study. One night , while he was memorizing his lessons, he was visited by Goddess Sarasvati (a deity). She asked him two questions

and was astonished at his wisdom and attentiveness. When asked to specify a boon he wished, Mālla, prayed for a *Grantha* (a legal treatise) which would teach him the art of dialectics for defeating the Buddhists. The goddess blessed him by bestowing on him the *Nayachakra*.[115] Accordingly, having learnt the truth by the favour of the deity, he requested the king to arrange a public disputation. The king Śilāditya acceded to his request and all the conditions of the previous meeting were agreed to once again. The vintage Mālla came here with a vengeance and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Buddhists, who had to withdraw from the city altogether and the Jaina Āchāryas were invited to take their place. Subsequently, the title of *Vadin* (doctor) was conferred on the victorious Mālla.

The second story about this Māllavadin is given in the *Prabhāvakacharita*. According to it Mālla was the youngest of the three sons[116] of lady, by the name of Durlabhadevi, who resided at Valabhi. They had a maternal uncle, who was a Śvetāmbara Jaina monk named Jinananda Suri. Being defeated by a Buddhist monk Buddha Nanda or Nanda in a public disputation at Bhraguchchha (Broach), he left that city and came to Valabhi, where he made his nephews his disciples. All the three brothers received high education at Valabhi and became great masters of Śāstras.[117] Now, Mālla went to Bharagukachchha and avenged himself on his uncle's opponent Buddhananda by publicly defeating him in the royal assembly, in token of which he was granted the title of *Vadin*. It seems that the episode holds some truth for soon after the decline of the Valabhi power, Buddhism gradually disappeared from Gujarāt and Jainism took its place. Śri Rājśekhara Sūri in his work *Prabandhakośa* narrates yet another story regarding Māllavadin. According to his

version, once in a town of Kheḍa in Gurjara Maṇḍala, there lived a learned Brāhmin named Devaditya who had a widowed daughter named Subhaga. She obtained a Surya charm, and became pregnant. The father scolded her for this scandal and sent her to Valabhi where she begot two sons and a daughter. While they were staying there, other boys in the vicinity started taunting these children regarding their father. The mother was pained by these queries. Under such circumstances the Sun intervened and he gave them a dagger[118] to be used against those who trouble them any more. On hearing this the king called the children and asked them about their father. In reply they employed the weapon against the king himself. One of the boys, named Śilāditya, now succeeded to the throne. This Śilāditya built a chaitya on the mount Śatarunjaya and gave donations to the Jaina Śrāvakas. During his reign some Buddhist monks requested him to hold a public meeting wherein they could defeat the Jainas; whom the king patronized at first. The king agreed to this and made it clear that the defeated side would have to leave the country. The Jainas were defeated and Śilāditya accepted Buddhism. Now Śilāditya's sister (whom he gave the kingdom of Bharukachchha) on the death of her husband, started of penance, and converted her eight year old son to Buddhism. Mālavadin, the young boy, asked his mother the reason for it and got a reply that this was done on the directions of his maternal uncle Śilāditya. At this Malla got angry and started penance at Mallagiri mountains. After obtaining a book on Tarkaśāstra (Logic) as a boon from the goddess, he came to the court of Śilāditya and asked for his permission to defeat the Buddhist in a public assembly. In six months time he did it successfully and saved Jainism.

Māllavadin was probably the founder of the Jaina temple and was atached to a *Maṭha* at Nausara. He is generally regard as the same person who wrote a commentary called Dharmottaracharya. Apparently he and his disciples belonged to the Sena Sangha which according to *Pattāvalis*, was a branch of the Mūla Sangha, which constituted the main Digāmbara church[119]. This information of the *Pattāvalis* is confirmed by the epigraphs[120].

The Jaina teacher Dhaneśvara, the author of the renowned *Śatrunjaya Mahātmya*[121] is represented as a contemporary and *Guru* (teacher) of king Śilāditya of Valabhi. He is stated to have "instructed this ruler in purifying the Jaina doctrine and induced him to expel the *Saugatas* (Buddhists) from the country and establish a number of *Chaityas* (temples) near the *Tirthas* "[122]. Although we have no proof of the Buddhists being expelled,[123] it is quite possible that Dhaneśvara may have influenced one of the Śilādityas' to some extent.

The Śatrunjaya Mahātmya, narrates, *inter alia*, an interesting account of *Jāvaḍa bhāvaḍa*[125]. It says that in the Vikram era, there lived one poor Jaina Śrāvaka Bhāvaḍa along with his wife Bhuvala in the city of Kāmpilya. With the blessings of some Gods he became a rich horse trader and started supplying good horses to king Vikramāditya. The king, being happy with his services gave him the city of Madhumavati, in Saurāṣtra province, as a fief. Here he was blessed with a son named, Jāvaḍa, who became his successor. He was intelligent as well as benevolent. Once he was told that some *rākśhasas* (demons) have defiled the famous Śatrunjaya peak, and it was his duty to restore the Jaina faith there. Further, the Jaina monks of the area pleaded before him that the original idol of Ṛaśhabhadeva was with Jagmāla, the king of Takśasilā. With great difficulties

Javada procured the idol from this king and brought it to Madumāvati. After that Jāvaḍa reached mount Śatrunjaya with the idol. He tried to install the statue at the proper place, time and again, but failed due to the intervention of the demons. Ultimately Jāvaḍa's heart was broken and he died in c. 52 A. D. When ever some work remains unfinished due to repeated failures, or obstacles, it has become a common trend in Gujarāt to term it as 'a work of Jāvaḍa Bhāvaḍa'[126]. Finally, Dhaneśvara established the superiority of the Jainas. Siddhasena Diwākara, whose principal literary activities were confined to Gujarāt was a Jaina by conversion, though he was a Brahmana by birth. He was the author of several *prakaraṇas*. He also wrote a well known text book on logic in about c. 533 A. D.[127].

Literary sources also indicate the existence of several Jaina temple in Valabhi. In Jesalmer (Rājasthān) there is a manuscript of *viśeśavassayabhāṣa*. In its colophon, dated Śaka samvat 531[128] (c. 610 A. D.), there is a mention of Valabhinagri and Śilāditya . The missing letters are said to be supplying the name of a Jaina temple at Valabhi, wherein this manuscript was then deposited[129]. James Tod, while describing the Jaina temples of the city, says, "in the sixth century 300 bells of the Jaina temples in the capital Valabhipur invited the pious to be assembled.[130]"

Some information about the Jaina idols in Valabhi is gathered from the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*[131] and the *Tāppāgachchhā pattāvali*[132]. It is mentioned in these works that when the destruction of Valabhi was anticipated, the principal Jaina images left Valabhi for different places of safety.[133] The image of Chandraprabha[134] shifted to Devpattana (Prabhās Patan) along with those of Ambā and Kśetrapāla; the image of Vardhamāna mahāvira shifted to Srimāla (Bhinmāl in

Rājasthān); that of Ādideva to Kaśahrada (Kasandra, 19 kms south-west of Ahmedabad); that of Pārṣavantha to Harya (Mehsānā district) and that of Valabhinātha to Śatrunjaya. In the *pattāvails* it has been mentioned that at the time of the destruction of Valabhi, gandharva-vadi Veṭal Śanti Sūri protected the Sangha.

There are other evidences to show that Jainism was in a flourishing condition during the rule of the Maitraka kings. The *kuvalaya māla* (Saka 700, i.e., 778 A. D.) distinctly refers to the fact that the grand disciple of Devagupta, viz., Yajñadatta, who evidently flourished around 600 A. D., "adorned the Gurjara deśa with Jaina temples." It has also been sugested[135] that Jinabhadra Vachana chārya mentioned in a 6th century image inscription from Akotā (Gujarāt) is to be identified with Jinabhadragaṇi kśamā śramaṇa, the famous Jain Scholar, who was probably a native of Valabhi. In the *Bhadrabāhucharita*[136], we are informed that king Bhupala of Karahata invited the Śvetāmbara monks of Valabhi at the request of his wife Nṛikuladevi. This lends support to the predominant power of the Śvetāmbar Jainas of Valabhi.

All the above mentioned references have been cited to prove that despite the lack of epigraphical evidence in this regards, the existence of Jainism in Valabhi is an established fact.

Buddhism

Yet another religion prevalent during the Maitraka times, was Buddhism, which occupied an important place in the history of religion at Valabhi.[137] Infact, Buddhism ran into the veins of Gujarāt from antiquity. The earliest evidence of the existence of Buddhism in Kāthiāwāḍ is furnished by some of the edicts of Aśoka which lie on the way to Mount Girnār[138]. It might have been promulgated there, as

in Southern Gujarāt (Aparānta), by the Buddhists of Ceylon (Siṁhaladwip)[139]. The name of one of these Buddhists, according to Aśoka edicts;[139A] the Mahāvaṁsa[139B] and the Dipavaṁsa[139C] was Yunni (Yona) Dharmarakśita.

Besides Junāgaḍh, other places which the Buddhists seem to have colonised were Talaja[139D] and Sana[139E], where cave and sanctuaries of the early type survive. Though Buddism is said to have set foot in Saurāṣtra during the times of Aśoka, there is no direct evidence of its continuance here after him, either in Indo-Greek, Kśatrapa or the Gupta periods. But it certainly reached the acme of its glory during the rule of the Maitraka kings of Valabhi.

An explanation of this resurgence of Buddhism during Maitraka times is available in the epigraphical records as well as in the accounts of Chinese travellers. The objects excavated at the site of Valabhi contain a variety of clay seals with the Buddhist formula *Ye dharma hetu prabhava*, imprinted on them. The copper plate grants also record the existence of Buddhism at Valabhi. Besides this the reference to 'Ratnatraya' (fag.1), 'Sangha' (frag. 4) and 'Tathāgata' (frag. 5), occurring in some fragmentary stone inscriptions discovered from Vala further depict the influence of Buddhism in Valabhi in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D.[140] Then again, the references to villages and even fields belonging to the Buddhist monks or Saṁgha may also be noted from the copper plate grants of the Maitrakas[141].

Numerous Mahāyānist votive clay seals bearing the images of *Buddha* and *Stūpa*, inscribed with the Buddhist creed in the characters of about the sixth century A. D. were also discovered from excavations at Valā, carried out by Father Heras.[142] Further explorations at places like the Gohilvāḍa Timbo near Amreli in

Saurāṣtra (which is in the vicinity of Valabhi, just about 64 kms. to the east of the city), yielded many inscribed potsherds which are believed to be fragments of vessels that might have belonged to some Buddhist monks (as conjectured by Śāstri H.P. and Altekar A. S), and have been assigned to the Maitraka period[143].

The earliest reference to the prevalence of Buddhism at Valabhi is found in a copper plate grant of king Dhruvasena I dated V. S. 216 (c. 535 A. D.)[144], where in the king donated some villages to the monastery build by his niece (sister's daughter) Dudda, who laid the temporal foundation of Buddhism by erecting a *vihāra* in or near Valabhi. In the inscription Dhruvasena I introduces Dudda as his *bhagineyi* (niece) and also as an ardent follower of Buddhism *(paramopāsika)*. Hence it can be surmised from above that her great *vihāra* in the locality of Valabhi itself must have been built not long before v.s. 216, the date of the earliest known grant donated to it by her maternal uncle.

We can gather some information about Dudda and her vihara from the land grants of the later Maitraka kings as well. King Guhasena refers to her with great respect and uses the term *'pada'* (venerable), in connection with her. The subsequent rulers represent her as a queen *(Rājni)*. This epithet seems to have been used probably to connote the idea of her kinship to the Maitraka royal blood. However, the records are absolutely silent about her background and we know nothing about her parents or her husband, if at all she was married. It seems that she must have been either a child widow or a virgin. Any how, we know that Dudda was residing at her maternal uncle's place at Valabhi, leading the life of a nun in her *vihāra*. May be realizing the hardships in the life of Buddhist monks and nuns, she

used her royal influence to inspire the rulers to issue grants for the maintenance of the Buddhist vihāras.

The Dudda vihāra continued to receive numerous donations from the Maitraka kings, at least for 140 years since its foundation (i.e. from G. E. or v. s. 216 to 356) and must have been therefore, become the most active centre of Buddhism at that time. This vihāra gradually developed into a *vihāra mandala.* incorporation thereby a number of viharas within its precincts.[145] Another *Vihāra maṇdala* as known from the Maitraka grants is that built by Yakśa Sura, which also included in its ambit the monasteries built by Puraṇna Bhatta and Ajjit. This *Vihāramaṇdala* was constructed especially for the use of Buddhist nuns *(bhikshunis)*[145A] and like Dudda vihāra was situated in the *svatala* of Valabhi. In one of the copper plate grants referring to this monastery, we find that some nuns had come to stay in it, for the lack of accommodation in another[146].

The name of Valabhi, which in later times became one of the most prominent centres of Buddhism worthy to be called a Buddhist university, is not heard of before the Maitraka period. From the copper plate inscriptions of the Maitraka kings of Valabhi, we know of at least fourteen vihāras in the vicinity of Valabhi. These monasteries are enumerated below:-

(1) The *Dudda Vihāra*[147] Some details of this monastery which later expended into a Mahāvihāra have already been mentioned above. Further, it must be said that this vihāra received numerous bounties from various Maitraka monarchs. In the year 534 A. D. Dhruvasena I granted the village Pippalarunkhari to this vihāra. In 559 A. D. Guhasena issued a grant of land and in 564 A. D. the same king granted four villages to the vihāra. Again, in 605 A. D.

king Śilāditya Dharmāditya I, donated a land consisting of a village along with three fields, two step wells and four garden wells to this vihāra. Dhruvasena III (650-655 A.D.) and Śilāditya III (660-685 A.D.) also gave substantial donations to this monastery.

(2) The *Buddhadāsa Vihāra*[148] This vihara was erected by Āchārya Bhadanta Buddhadāsa,[149] in the neighbourhood of the Dudda vihara. The monastery was built probably during the life time of Dudda.

(3) The *Bhatāraka Vihāra*[150] was perhaps built by Bhatārka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty. This vihara was dedicated (प्रासादीकृत) to *rājasthāniya* Sura (an officer).

(4) The *Gohaka Vihāra*[151] was established by Gohaka, probably a monk. In 629 A. D. king Dhruvasana II *(Bālāditya)* issued a grant of land to this vihāra.

(5) The *Kākkā Vihāra*[152] was constructed by a trader of Valabhi named Kākkā. Maitraka king Dharasena II gave a gift of land to this Buddhist vihārā in 589 A.D.

(6) The *Vimala gupta Vihāra*[153] It was built by Āćārya Bhikśhu Vimalagupta who was a resident of the village Kukkuraṇka. A copper plate grant of Śilāditya II in 662 A.D. records the endowment of land to this monastery. Śilāditya III also donated some land to this vihāra.

(7) The *Sthiramati vihāra*[154] It appears that this vihāra was built by Āchārya Bhadanta Sthirmati.[155]

(8) The *Abhayāntarika Vihāra*[156] was constructed by the venerable nun Mimma. She is being termed as *upāsika.* Mimma appears to be from the royal family of the Maitrakas.[157]

(9) The *Yakśa Sura Vihāra*[158] It was built by Yakśa Sura and it formed the head of the vihāra maṇdala (monasteries) for the nuns.

(10) The *Purnna Bhatta Vihara*[159] It was erected by Purṇna Bhatta who belonged to the family of *sāmanta* kākkukā on the maternal side.

(11) The *Ajjita Vihāra*[160] was constructed by a trader named Ajita. It was situated at the village Bhattipadra[161] (in the neighbourhood of Valabhi). The vihara also known by the name of *Vanijakajita vihāra*[162] was erected for the Buddhist nuns and formed a part of the *Ykśasura vihāra maṇdala.*

(12) The *Vamśakata Vihāra*[163] it is known that this vihāra was built by king Śilāditya I himself in the Vamaśkata village[164].

(13) The *Skandabhatta Vihāra*[165] This vihāra also known as *Yodhāvaka vihāra* (Yodhāvaka being the place where it was situated)[166], was built by *divirapati* Skandabhatta.[167]. A water reservoir was also constructed near this vihāra. In this vihāra monks of Mahāyāna sect were said to be staying.

(14) *Sri Bappāpadiya Vihāra*[168] This vihara was probably named after Bappā pada, who was an ancestor of the Maitraka kings and at whose feet the members of the family made their obeisance. It was constructed by Āchārya Bhikshu Sthirmati[169] at Valabhi[170]. It has been suggested that it might be located in the group of Buddhist caves at Talaja, in the neighbourhood of Valabhi. This vihara has been referred to by Yuan Chwang in his account of Valabhi. The description of the Chinese traveller is as follows: "Not far from the city is a great *sangharam*[171], which was built by the Ārhat Āchārya (ochelo), here the Bodhisatvas Guṇamati and

Sthirmati fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown"[172].

Names of some five more vihāras would have been known to us had their names been well preserved on the following records, viz., Bhandārkar's list Nos. 1330, 1331, 1595 and 1600; and Śilāditya I's grant of 287 G.E.[173] Any how, Buddhism in Valabhi owed much to the numerous donations by the Maitraka kings who made munificent gifts to the Buddhist monasteries, as well as to the generosity of the members of the royal family who also patronised Buddhism. As mentioned earlier the Bappāpadiya Vihāra was constructed to pay respect to the ancestor of the Maitraka family. Similarly Bhatāraka vihāra was named after Bhatārka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty. King Guhasena has also been described in the copper plate inscriptions as *paramopāsaka*. *Āryа-Mañju-Śri-Mūlaklpa* makes a mention of king Śilāditya[174] of Valabhi who was a devout Buddhist . There were at least seven Maitraka kings bearing the name *Śilā*[175]. All of them were strongly inclined towards Buddhism. From the copper plates discovered so far it can be said that most of them gave grants to Buddhist vihāras. Yuan Chwang mentions that king Dhruvasena, identified with Dhruvasena II (c. 629 A.D. – 642 A.D.), son-in-law of emperor Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, was ruling at Valabhi when the Chinese traveller visited the city. He describes this king in his account as "quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to the faith of the *three precisou ones*".[176] It means that the king must have become an ardent Buddhist at the end of his career. In fact, irrespective of the number of vihāras at Valabhi, the epigraphs show that from king Dhruvasena I onwards, every Valabhi king upto Śilāditya VII (c. 770 A.D.) actively patronised Buddhism. In the

epigraphs two ladies of the royal family of the Maitrakas, viz., Dudda and Mimma are also described as *paramopāsika.*

But from details furnished above it can also be argued that besides enjoying the royal patronage and help from feudatories, officers of the state, nuns, monks, the monasteries also had donations from persons belonging to trading class (as can be seen from vihāra Nos. 5 and 11 mentioned above). The devotion of even a lay man towards the activities of the vihāras, *inter-alia* gave impetus to Buddhism as a whole, in the region.

The long duration of time, through which these vihāras were endowed with gifts, show how Buddhism became popular and held its sway over the minds of the people during those days. These vihāras were built, as known from the inscriptions, for three purposes :-

(1) To lodge the Buddhism Sangha which gathered together from different quarters and consisted of Bhikśus who practiced the eighteen Nikāyas.

(2) For the worship of the Buddha image.

(3) For the installation, repairs and maintenance of buildings and Books (libraries).

But being almost stereotyped and monotonous in their description, the copper plate inscriptions of the Maitraka monarchs do not help us much to know anything about the life and activities in the monasteries. Nevertheless, they do occasionally provide us rare glimpses into the life and conditions in these viharas. Many of these grants provided for the daily necessities (of the monks) such as alms *(Pindapata)*[177], beds *(Śayanasana)*[178], attendance on the sick *(Glanapratyaya)*, medicine *(Bhesajya)*, clothes *(Chivarakas)*[179], etc.; for the worship of the Buddha images and current repairs to the

monasteries, thus giving us an idea of the duties of the monks, their daily life and their needs. Then again, when these inscriptions refer to the anointing of the images[180], the performances of dances and music[181] or the covering of the floor,[182] we gather that life in a monastery was not a monotonous round of duties. One grant provides for the purchase of religious books for the monastery.[183] In some, the fortifications[184] and the well land gardens[185] around these vihāras are mentioned. Else where we get interesting description of the tasteful decoration in them.[186] The most important feature of the Vihāras as described by the grants was the worship of images. Yuan Chwang in his account refers to images of seven Buddhas in a vihāra built by the king Śilāditya[187]. This shows that the worship of the images of the previous Buddhas and of Gautama Buddha was in vogue even in Valabhi period. This anointing consisted of *Snāpana-gandha-dhūpa-puṣpa -mālya -dipa- taila*, etc., I-tsing gives a detailed account of the way in which a Buddhist image was bathed and worshipped.[188] The priest in charge of performing the ceremony of worshipping the image was known as the *Padamūla*, and the grants made special provision for his livelihood.

The Maitraka grants which are in conformity with the testimony of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang make reference to the monks practicing eighteen *Nikāyas*[189] (schools), which along with the references to dance and music, anointing of the images etc., imply the influence of *Hinayāna* (most probably *Sammitiya*[190] sect), where as the mention of the Buddha figures generally suggest the existence of *Mahāyānism*, unless, the Hinayanists of the period also worshipped the Buddha image. How did these branches of Buddhism which seemed to be obsolete in the preceeding age suddenly sprang up at

Valabhi in the sixth century A.D. is anybody's guess. But the epigraphical evidences along with the testimony of the Chinese travellers seem to provide an explanation of Buddhism's resurgence and nature at Valabhi. When Yuan Chwang visited western India, every where he found monasteries and followers of the Hinayāna *Sammitiya* and Mahāyāna *Sthavira* schools. Further, we know from his account that most of the bhikśus in Mālvā, Valabhi and Ānandapura studied Hinayāna according to *Sammitiya* school, while the bhikśus of Bharucaccha and Saurāṣtra followed Mahayana according to the *Sthāvira* school and the bhikśus of Khetaka and Ujjayani studied both the *Yānas*.[191] I-tsing amply confirms Yuan Chwang's statement when he says that the *Āryа Sammitiya Nikāya* was most flourishing in Lāta (Southern Gujarāt) and Sindhu (Sind)[192].

According to both the Chinese travellers, *Sammitiya* sect of *Therāvāda* was predominant in Gujarāt even in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Incidentally it may be mentioned here that Rājyasri, sister of the emperor Harṣavardhana, was also a follower of this school[193].

But as regards the nature of Buddhism and its subsequent progress, we know that both the *Hinaṿāna* and the *Mahāṿāna* schools prevailed at Valabhi[194]. However, it cannot be doubted that Buddhism in Valabhi had leaning towards *Hinaṿāna* sect in the early stages of development, as can be seen from the reference to monks practicing the eighteen nikāyas. The evidences show the existence of some Hinayana school, most probably, the Sammātiya[195]. But in the heydays of Valabhi, i.e., during the sixth-seventh century A.D., when the Maitrakas were at the apex of their glory, the chief form of religion must have been *Mahāyānism*.[196] The form of Mahāyānism

that prevailed in Valabhi was that of the *Sthāvira* school, as followers of this sect were found by Yuan Chwang[196A] in Junāgaḍh, a city, not far off from Valabhi. The epigraphs refer to the Buddhist Sangha, a section of which was Mahāyānist and worshipped the Buddha.

It is quite possible that the influence of *Nālandā* (the famous Buddhist university with Mahāyānistic inclination) was responsible for the growth of the Mahāyāna sect at Valabhi, for Yuan Chwang tells us that Sthirmati, a famous monk of Nālandā built a vihāra at Valabhi.[196B] Further, we have the testimony of this author who speaks of both Sthirmati and Guṇamati, the far famed champions of *Abhidharma* or the beginning of Mahāyānism.[196C] Expressions like "*Buddha Bhattāraka*"[197] occur frequently in Maitraka copper plates which in turn denote the existence of Buddha images. The numerous inscriptions also refer directly to the anointing and bathing of the Buddha's images. Another grant of king Dharasena IV informs us about one *Yodhāvaka* monastery which was bestowed with gifts, especially meant for the Mahāyānist monks staying in it[198]. Some Mahāyānic clay seals have been found[199] from Valabhi. Rev. Father Heras has also excavated some similar objects from the site of an old Buddhist monastery. Identical seals and a black stone image of Buddha with the Uśanasa well preserved were also discovered[200]. In 1938-39 a full length statue of the Buddha,[201] which was earlier mistaken for the image of Dhundhali Māla, a local saint, was found laying on the top of the Isalva hill near Vala. The Abbhal Girasias field in Valabhi has yielded five bronze statues of the Buddha[202] which are now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum. Al these facts support the existence of Mahāyānism in Valabhi.

Further information regarding the patronage given to Buddhism by the Maitraka royal family can be seen from Yuan Chwang's account. The pilgrim introduces the country of Valabhi (*Fa– la–pi*) "as about 6000 li (1000 miles) in circuit and the capital as about 36 li (6 miles) in circuit. The soil is rich and fertile, and produces abundant harvests. Shrubs and trees were numerous and flourishing. The disposition of men was virtuous and docile, and they were in general of remarkable intelligence. Their language was elegant and clear, and their learning was wide and profound"[203]. Describing the ruler of Valabhi he says : "the present king is the nephew of Śilāditya, Rājā of Mālvā and son-in-low of Śilāditya (Harṣha Vardhana), the present king of Kānyakubja. His name is Dhruvapata.[204] He is of a lively and hasty disposition and his wisdom and state craft are shallow. Quite recently he has attached him self sincerely to the faith in the '*three precious ones*'. Yearly he summons a great assembly, and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, exquisite meats, and on the priests he bestows in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalent in value, and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given these in charity, he redeems them at twice their price".[205]

Again describing Mālvā (*Mo-la-po*) the traveller writes : "the country is about 600 Li in circuit. The capital is some 30 Li round. It is defended by the Mahi river on the south and east..... The records of this country state that sixty years before this, flourished Śilāditya (Śilāditya I); a man of eminent wisdom and great learning; his skill in literature was profound.....from the time of his birth to his last hour, his face never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injure a living thing.....by the side of his palace he built a vihāra where in he

put images of the seven Buddhas". He was known as '*Dharmāditya*' because of his love for Dharma.[206] Every year he convoked an assembly called *Mokśha Mahā pariśhad.*

Maitraka grants refer to eminent Buddhist monks like Buddhadāsa, Sthirmati and Vimalagupta who constructed vihāras in or near about Valabhi. Yuan Chwang also has made a reference to a vihāra constructed by Arhanta Acara near Valabhi[206A]. Another prominent Buddhsist monk from Gujarāt referred to by Yuan Chwang is Bhadraruchi who defeated a versatile but arrogant Brahmin in a debate in the country of Mālvā.[207] Dharmagupta, another eminent Buddhist scholar of Maitraka period, was born in Lāta country (Gujarāt).

The famous Buddhist dignatories, Āchārya Sthiramati and Guṇamati, disciples of Asanga[208] and Vasubandhu respectively, completed their treatises in a vihara near Valabhi. Yuan Chwang describes how Guṇamati defeated Mādhava, follower of Sānkhya philosophy in a public debate[209]. The Chinese pilgrim also mentions about Jayseṅa, a learned *upāsaka* of Gujarāt of the Maitraka period who later migrated to Magadha.[210]

Āryа-Mañju-Śri-Mūlaklpa refers to a famous monk from Valabhi called Pindaćarika,[211] who lived during the days of Śilāditya. It can thus be seen from above that during the Maitraka period, Gujarāt produced a galaxy of Buddhist scholars. But as a Buddhist monk had no private life apart from that in the monastery nowhere do we find mention of a grant made to a particular bhikśu, however great he may be in his learning or in his position in the monastery. What ever was granted was in the name of the monastery and was utilized to meet the necessary expenses and comforts of all the inmates.

Buddhism must indeed have reached the height of its glory during the rule of the Maitraka kings of Valabhi, for the literary evidences as well as the epigraphic references bear out the fact that there was continued support, for the faith, from the various rulers of this dynasty. In fact according to *Vaijayanti Kośa*[212], the Maitrakas served in Buddhist temples as worshippers.

Buddhism in Valabhi was universal in spirit and acquired prominence as a seat of learning. Valabhi was not just the receiving centre of Buddhism, it also acted as a radiating one. Its thousand of monks and nuns must have influenced the culture and social institutions of Gujarāt Kāthiwāḍ after the sixth century A.D.

But what still remains contentious is the fact that almost all the grants made to the Buddhists by the Maitraka monarchs were issued from their victorious camps. Now what is interesting is that while these rulers patronised Buddhism they did not pay any adherence to the principle of *Ahiṁsa* (the most important tenet of Buddhism). In the same breath, however, it must be said that opportunism has remained as the guiding force behind any form of government, whether, monarchism, socialism or communism, throughout history and thus the attitude of the Maitraka monarchs hardly comes as a surprise.

Anyhow, religion in the Maitraka society permeated the whole of life; and every sort of religion, appealing to the diverse inhabitants of Valabhi, was primarily social and had its origin and sanction in the life of the community. What the group did, the individual followed without doubt or hesitation. The religious group acted as if one person, though its members retained their individuality to the fullest extent.

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14. Thakur, V.N., *Anangabhadra Ya Valabhipura No Vināś* (Gujarāti); p. 87.
15. Mādhavāchārya, *Śankar-dig-Vijaya*, Sarva 16; James Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol XI. p. 186; also Virji, K.J. *A.H.S*, p. 166-67.
16. Thakur, V.N., *op. cit.*, p. 87; also Virji, K.J., *op. cit.* p. 166-67
17. Watters, T., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, 1904, p. 165.
18. *Watson Museum, Annual Reports*, 1938-39, p.31.
19. *ibid*, p. 29.
20. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 83-84.
21. *Lakuliśa* or *Nakuliśa* is a yogi like form of Śiva and according to the Purāṇas, was the twenty eighth and the last incarnation of the Mahiśvara (Khare, *Murtivijnana*, p. 127; also *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, Ch. XXIII, p. 223, verse 124-133. *Linga Purāṇa*. Ch. XXIV, 131) The incarnation took place at Kayavarohana. Bhaṇdārkar, 'The Ekalingi Stone Inscription and the Original History of the Lakuliśa Sect', *JBBRAS*, XXII p. 157 ff. It is believed that this incarnation took place because, as Hemavati inscription (dt. 943 A.D.) puts it, Lakuliśa being afraid that his name and doctrine might be lost in the oblivion, was reborn as *Muninātha-Chilluka.(Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XII, p. 45, 92). Lakuliśa had four disciples, namely, Kuśika, Gargya, Karusha and Maitreya who all founded unique branches of their own. The origin of this Pāśupata sect is supposed to be as early as the first century A.D. The presumption of the *Bombay Gazetteer* that Valabhi Śaivism was of this sect, is erroneous. The fact that Kārvan in Gāekwar territory, nearby Barodā, was the centre of

Lakuliśa sect of Śaivism proves nothing, since this place is at quite a distance from Valabhi. More over no traces of the prevelence of this sect have been found out from the ruins of Valabhi proper and its vicinity. The Pāśupats were regarded as fighting monks and this is precisely why some authors like H.G. Śhāstri connect the Maitrakas with them as the Maitrakas are believed to be war like people who probably descended from Mitra or Maitreya, one of the pupils of Lakuliśa , the founder of the Pāśupata sect. (Śhāstri, H.G. *Maitraka Kālina Gujarāt*, I, p. 25ff; also *Gujarātno Rājakiya and Sānskritic Itihās*, Vol. 3, p. 32). But this view also cannot be regarded as true because the Maitrya sect originated in south Gujarat (Lata) while the kingdom of Maitrakas was on the opposite side of the gulf of Khambāt Rājyagor, S.B., *History of Gujarāt*, p. 82.

22. Sankalia, H.D, *op. cit.*, 1941, p. 216.
23. Munshi, K.M., *Gujarāt and its Literature*, p. 76; Cousens, *Somanāth and other Medieval Temples in Kāthiāwāḍ*, p. 18; Virji K.J., *AHS*, p. 168 Somanāth is regarded as sacred to the Śaivas in Gujarāt.
24. *Bhāvanagar Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, 1899, p. 186.
25. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol I, p. 79.
26. Virji, K.J., *op. cit.*, p. 165; also Nitā Vermā, *Society and Economy in Ancient India, An epigraphical study of the Maitrakas* (c. A.D. 475-775), p. 99. Virji, after proclaiming Śaivism to be the *state religion*, rectifies her error immediately and becomes specific in suggesting that it was the *royal religion* of the Maitrakas. In fact, most modern scholars do not regard the two terms inter changeable.

27. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 166 and notes.
28. Fleet, J.F., *CII*, vol. III, p. 178-note No. 7.
29. Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 185, note 6. In the passage, king Śilāditya IV, is linked to the god Śiva, under the name of Parameśvara or 'the supreme lord'.
30. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 225-26. Virji, however, thinks that the argument may be advanced in favour of Śaivism also, as Parśurāma happened to be a great devotee of Lord Śiva, as narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa.
31. Parśurām is regarded as one of the ten incarnations (*avtārs*) of lord Viṣṇu. The ten incarnations in chronological order are 1. Kacchh (Tortoise), 2. Macchh (Fish), 3. Varāha (Boar) 4. Narasiṁha (Mythical character, half Nara (Man) and half Siṁha (Lion), 5. Vāmana (the dwarf) 6. Parśurām, 7. Rāma 8. Kriṣṇa 9. Buddha 10. Kalki or Kalkin.
32. Fleet, J.F., *CII*, Vol. III, p. 186-88, notes. Fleet treats the question at great length. Three different theories have been discussed in relation to *Bappā* or *Bavā*. (i) Māndlik, V.N. in *JBBRAS*, Vol XI, p. 355, note says that the words *bappā* and *bavā*, were identical and they denoted some great teacher of the Śaiva faith or some remarkable great king of that name. (ii) Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, in *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 167, note 17, suggests that *bappā* is a general to the used by chief priests. (iii) As regards the question of *bappā* being a proper name, the word does occur in this way, as the name of an official, the *Balādhikrita* and *Bhogika Bappā* (*ASWI*, Vol III, p. 99). But all these ideas and interpretations of the technical expressions *bappā* and *bavā* have been dispensed with. Fleet argues sucessfuly that the *bappā* has come from *bāp*, meaning

father and *bavā* is derived from *bawa*, meaning some one elderly or an uncle.

33. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol I pt. 1, p. 85.
34. Beal, S., *Buddhist Records of the western world*, 1884, Vol, II, p. 268, note 76; also *Bombay Gazetteer*, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
35. Sankalia, H.D., *AOG*, p. 217.
36. *Brāhmaṇism* is used here intentionally as the goddesses can not be definitely relegated to Śaivite cult alone.
37. Jackson, 'Two New Valabhi copper plates', *JBBRAS* XX p. 2. ff.
38. Barnett, 'Bhamodra Mohata Plates of Droṇasiṁha', *EI*, XVI 1921-22, p. 17ff.
39. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 9-10.
40. Sankalia, *P.H.A.G.*, p. 127 also Manibhāi Vorā, in *Sanskriti Pūjan* (in Gujrāti), has observed such Śaktipithas.
41. Jackson, *op. cit.*, XX, p. 6, also Sankalia, *AOG*, p. 218.
42. Jackson, *idem*.
43. Thākur V.N., *op. cit.*, (Gujarāti) p. 87.
44. Gaudani, H.R. in *Pathik*, Vol. 19-20, no. 12, p. 37.
45. This view is propounded by Merutunga (*in Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*) and Tod *(in Travels in western India)*. In fact Merutunga in *PCM, tr. By Tawney, C.H.*, p. 170-71, gives a detailed account of the birth of king Śilāditya (Ćiladitya), who was born to one Subhaga, the daughter of a brāhmaṇ named Devaditya, through her union with Lord Surya or Sun. Later on when Subhaga moved to the Valabhi with her son, she faced a lot of difficulties there, regarding the birth of her son. Under such circumstances Lord Sun appeared to the boy and informed him that he was the man who married his mother. Then he placed

some pebbles in the boys hands and went on to say "any one of these pebbles hurled at a man who insults you will become a rock". With the help of these pebbles, the boy gained power and became the king of Valabhi and then he named himself Śilāditya. *[Etymologically Śilā (the Rock)+ Āditya (the Sun)]* or a boy born to the Sun who gained power through the use of pebbles which turned in to rocks. At least seven kings of the dynasty were known by the name Śilāditya, and it is quite interesting that the copper plate grants described all these kings as staunch Śaivites.

46. *Batta* or *Bhatta* is a synonym of the Sun.

47. Diskālkar, D.B., 'Bhadva copper-plates of Dharasena II of V.S. 252', *A.B.O.R.I*, IV, p. 35. The epithet *Param āditya bhakta* means a fervent devotee of Lord Surya (Sun)

48. All these suffixes like *sena*, *simha*, *graha*, *bhatta* and *āditya* are synonyms of the Sun.

49. Sankalia, H.D., *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarāt*, Poona, 1949, p. 111 (*H.C.G.E.G.* here after)

50. Rājyagor, S.B., *H.O.G.*, 1982, p. 83.

51. Etymologically the correct break of the word *Śilāditya is Śil* (Good Virtues) + *Āditya* (the Sun) – A person who has patience, bears a good moral character and has all the good virtues and hence can be compared to the Sun. This is contrary to the definition given above in Ref. No. 45, which is in fact, incorrect.

52. The term *Baladitya* means the young or rising Sun [*Bāla* (Young) + *Āditya* (Sun)]. The epithet is used as the second name (*aparā nāma*) by a few of the kings of the dynasty. e.g., Dhruvasena II

used this title – Majumdār, M.R.,*C.O.G*, p. 133; also Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 182.

53. *Chhandogya Upaniṣad*, III, 17, 6
54. Fleet, 'Mandasor stone Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhu varman', *C. I. I.* III, p. 85 ff.
55. *ibid* ,p. 71
56. *ibid*, p. 232; Beal, S., *op. cit.*, I, p. 352; also Watters, T., *op. cit.*, I, p. 223.
57. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
58. *idem.*
59. Bühler, 'Dhank Plates of V.S. 290,' *IA*, Vol IX, 1880 p. 237.
60. *Vide*, Bhandārkar, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
61. Diskālkar, D.B., 'Bantia plates of Dharasena II of Valabhi of V.S. 257,' *J.B.B.R.A.S* (New Series), Vol III, p. 184-85.
62. Sankalia, *AOG* p. 214; but Purāṇic literature regarded Revanta as the charioteer of the Sun. – Sankalia, *PHAG*, p. 126.
63. Sankalia, *AOG*, p. 214 and Appendix, No. 245.
64. *ibid.*, p. 214, *Surya Nārāyaṇ* is a synonym of Lord Viṣṇu.
65. Thoothi, V.A., *The Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarāt*, p. 72.
66. Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 801-804.
67. Hultzsch, 'Surat Plates of Vyagrasena', *EI* XI, p. 219; Raychaudhari, *Early History of Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 101
68. Fleet, 'The Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription', *CII*, III, p. 56; Rājyagor, S.B., *H.O.G*, 1982, p. 79. Chakrapālita was the son of Parṇadatta, the viceroy of Saurāṣhtra and was appointed as Municipal officer of Girinagara (Junāgaḍh), he erected in 457 A.D. a magnificent temple of Lord Viṣṇu whose ruins are now found in Dāmodar mandir on Uparkot.

69. Shāh, U.P., *Akotā Bronzes*, p. 66.
70. Monier Williams, 'The Vaiṣaṇava Religion' Art. XIX, *JRAS*, (N.S.), XIV, pp. 289-316.
71. *idem.*
72. *EI*, III, 1894-95, p. 322.
73. Diskālkar, *op. cit.*, XX, pp. 1-8
74. Hultzsch, 'The Pālitānā plates of Siṁhaditya, '*EI*, XI, 1911-12, p. 18.
75. cf. Virji, *AHS*, pp. 225-226.
76. Dikshiṭār, V.R.R., *The Gupta Polity*, pp. 300-301. He says that the term *Bhāgavata* originated from the term *Bhagavān*, which was a general one and was applied in Gupta times to eminent preceptors who could be ranked with divine beings. But this explanation is far fetched and seems erroneous as the term *Param Bhāgvata* is generally regarded as meaning a great devotee of Viṣṇu.
77. Kārandikar, M.A. and Shailaja, '*Bhaṭṭi kāvyam*', Delhi. 1976, Introduction, p. ix-xiv; Virji, *AHS* p. 170.
78. The *Bombay Gazeteer* maintains that Dharasena IV was Bhaṭṭi's patron (Vol. I, pt. I, p. 90-91). Trivedi, K.P.; Vaidya, C.V; Pārikh, R.C. and Majumdar M.R. are also of the same view. But other authors like Divekar, H.R. and Kārandikar, M.A. hold the view that Bhaṭṭi lived during the rule of Dharasena II. Their conjectural remarks are based on one sloka of *Bhaṭṭi kāvya* which goes as:-

    Kāvyamida rachitam maya Valabhyam
    Śri Dharasena Narendra Pālitayam |
    Kirtirato bhavata Nṛpasya tasya
    Premakarah kśhitile yataḥ prajāṇam ||36||

    (Bhaṭṭiakvya, sarga 32, pp. 42-43)

In the colophon it is said that the poem was composed when king Dharasena, a *Narendra* (acommon king) was ruling at Valabhi. Now Dharasena IV styled him self as a *Chakravarti* (a universal ruler or an Emperor) and the term Narendra can hardly be interpreted as an emperor or Chakravarti.

79. Majumdār, M.R., *C.O.G.*, pp. 177-178; Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 184 and note 7.
80. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 183 and note 4. The term *Chakravartin* is explained by Monier Williams, as meaning the ruler, the wheel or *Chakra*, of whose chariot rule every where without obstruction. Another explanation is given in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, book 1, Chap. XIII, verse 46 (Hall's edition of H.H. Wilson's translation, Vol. 1, p. 183 and note 1). It describes that a discus (chakra), the sign of God Viṣṇu, (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all chakravartiens; and such a ruler is one, whose prowess cannot be withstood even by the gods.
81. Fleet, *ibid*, p. 182 and note 1. Śilāditya VI is also termed as a real *Janārdana* in one of his inscriptions. *Janārdana* is a synonym of Lord Viṣṇu (vide, *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 80).
82. Dwārika is regarded as the second home of Lord Kriṣhna, the first being Vṛanda Ban near Mathurā.
83. Śāmalāji is a well known Vaiṣṇava pilgrim centre in Gujarat. It is situated in the north east of Gujarāt and lies about 2 km. north of Devnimori, the famous Śaiva pilgrim centre.
84. Sankalia, "The story in Stone of the Great Renunciation of Neminātha", *I.H.Q.*, XVI, 1940, p. 314ff.
85. Sankalia, *op.cit.*, p. 233.

86. Chatterjee, A.K., *A Comprehensive History of Jainism* (upto 1000 A.D.), p. 39.
87. *Kevalajñana or Kevalijñana* is a term meaning, arrived at the knowledge of the Kevalins or attained omniscience.
88. Banerjee and Sukthānkar, "Three Kśhatrapa Inscritions", *EI*, XVI, p. 239.
89. Devasenasūri's, *Darśanasāra*, Vs. 21–"Sorathe Valahie uppanno sevado Saraho." (Ch. VII).
90. The date is given by Jineśvara Sūri in his *Pramalakśhana*, cf. *Gujarāt State Gazetteer*, Bhāvnagar State, p. 48.
91. Charpentier, *Uttarādhyana Sūtra*, p. 16; Jinaprabhav Suri, *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa* (Singhi Jain Series), p. 29; Rājaśekharasūri, *Purātan Prabandha Sangraha*, (Singh Jain Series), pp. 89-93.
92. Sankalia, *AOG*, p. 235, Virji suggests that the absence of any record of the Maitraka kings regarding any donations or grants made to the Jainas may be due to the principle of *Aparigraha* (destitute of possession), followed by the latter, *AHS*, p. 178.
93. Kapadia, H.R., 'Redaction of the Jaina Cannon', *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p. 60 ff., note 4-7. It is also known that penances were prescribed to those who wrote even one letter.
94. Kāliyasuya is that sutra which is studied or recited during the first and last *paurusis* of both night and day. *Paurusis* is the period that elapses from sun-rise to the time when the shadow of an object is equal to its height. In short, it comes to about three hours.
95. In Jaina literature we come across three twelve years famines prior to this. They occurred during the times of Bhadrabāhu-Svāmin, Ārya Suhastin (c. Vira Samvat 291) and Vajrasvāmin

respectively. Of the three, the first one was terrible. *Āvāssaya Cunni*, Pt. 1, 404, cf. Kapadia, *op.cit.*, pp. 62-63.

96. Bhandārkar, 'An undated Mauryan Brahmi Inscription of Mahasthan', *EI*, XXI, p. 83ff.
97. Jayaswāl, 'The text of the Sohgaura Plate', *EI*, XXII, p. 1ff.
98. *Nandi Cunni*, 8.
99. Muni Kalyanvijay, *Vira nirvāna Samvat aur Jaina kāla Gaṇana*, p. 104-11, 188ff.
100. *idem.*
101. *ibid.*; also Majumdār, R.C., *Vakataka Gupta age*, p. 393; Jain, Jyoti Prasād, *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India* (100 B.C. – 900 A.D.), p. 271.
102. The date occurs at the end of the Kalpasutra. It was the year 980 (or 993 according to the other version) of the Vira Era. The year would correspond to 453-54 A.D. (or 466-67 A.D.), according to the current tradition of counting the Vira Era, since 527 B.C. (the year 527 B.C. is accepted as that of the death (Nirvāṇa) of Mahāvira, according to the orthodox Jaina view). Now if we deduct this year from 993 of the V.E., (993-527), we come to the year 466 A.D. According to the other version the year would correspond to 453 A.D. (980 – 527) - The date 980 or 993 is nothing else, but the time elapsed from the death of Mahavira. The Vira Samvat 980 is accepted by the Skadiliyas and V.S. 993 is accepted by the Nāgārjuniyas. This difference has its origin in the fact that some saints thought that 980 years had elapsed since the death of Lord Mahāvira, whereas others thought that 993 years had elapsed. Law, B.C., *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, Chapter XX, *Kalpasutra*, p. 96; Jain, J.P. *op.cit.*, p. 272

also subscribes to this view. Based on this, the date of earlier two Jaina councils can also be justified. It has been said that these councils were held in the V.S. 827 or 840.(300 or 313 A.D.), i.e., to say, exactly 153 years back (v.s. 993-840 or 980 – 827). Now, if we deduct 153 years from 466 A.D. or 453 A.D. (the date of the second council at Valabhi) we come to the year 313 or 300 A.D. Other way around, if we calculate it from the time of the death of Lord Mahāvira in 527 B.C., we arrive at the same date (V.S. 840 – 527 B.C. = 313 A.D. or V.S. 827 – 527 B.C. = 300 A.D.). From above it can be surmised that according to this view the dates of the two councils at Valabhi are in exact uniformity. But if this view is regarded to be true, then one has to admit that the famous Jaina council at Valabhi (in 453 or 466 A.D.) was held prior to the rule of the Maitrakas. This seems to be erroneous as we have definite evidence of this council, being convoked during the reign of the Maitraka ruler Dhruvasena –(Jakobi, '*Kalpa Sutra*, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, p. 270; Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, V, pt. II, p. 432). However, there were three Maitraka kings by the name of Dhruvasena–Dhurvasena I (c. 525–550 A.D.), Dhruvasena II (c. 630-642 A.D.) and Dhruvasena III (c. 650-655 A.D.). To which of these Dhruvasena, does the *Kalpa Sutra* refers, is debatable. While Burgess equates this Dhruvasena to Dhruvasena II, a contemporary of Harṣa Vardhana, of Kanauj *(Antiquities of Kāthiāwāḍ and Kutch*, p. 84-85), the fact remains that the reign of this king was famous not from Jaina but from Buddhist point of view, as the revered Chinese Monk *Yuan Chwang* visited Valabhi during his reign. And hence Burgess is mistaken when he says that the Valabhi Council was held in c.

640 A.D., during the rule of Dhruvasena II. One the other hand some scholars count the Vira Era since 467 B.C. (They consider this to be the year of Mahāvira's demise), and accept the Vira year 993 given in the other version, so as to connect the event with the reign of Dhruvasena I (c. 525-550 A.D.) According to this view the year corresponds to 526 A.D. (993–467). – *Charpentier*, *Uttardhyayana Sūtra*, p. 15-16. But this monarch, Dhruvasena I, is in fact assosiated with another Jaina event, viz., the public recital of the Kalpasutra. Still this date is probably true as regards the convocation of the famous Jaina council at Valabhi.

103. *Gujarāt State Gazetteer*, Bhāvnagar District, chapter II, p. 49.

104. It is said that the *Ardha Phalka* (half clad) sect developed into the *Śwetāmbara* (while clad) sect at the instance of this king–Premi, Nathurāma, *Introduction to Darśanasāra*, p. 59

105. Shāh, C.J., *Jainism in Northern India*,p. 68.

106. *idem*; also Jain, Muni Uttam Kamal, 'The Śavetāmbara – Digāmbara split', *Jaina sects and schools*, chapter V, p. 39. In fact, it is generally believed that the final separation came because of this princess Chandralekhā, queen of king Lokapāla (Dhruvasena) of Valabhipur. It is said that the Ardhaphalka monks were invited by her. But finding them neither clothed nor naked, the king was displeased, and the queen, therefore, asked them to wear full clothes. From that time the Ardhaphalakas began to put on white clothes and came to be called Śvetapatas or Śvetāmbaras.

107. The *Kalpasutra* is supposed to have been composed in its original form by Bhadrabāhu. In its present form, it is a compilation made in 980 years after the passing away of

Mahāvira, during the reign of Dhruvasena, the Maitraka king. According to the Śvetāmbaras, the *Kalpastura* is a great authority and is always read publicly during the Vasavasa or Pujjusan. The *Jinacharita*, the *Sthaviravali* and *the Samacharis* collected together in one book under the title of *Kalpasutra* were, according to the tradition, included in Devardhigani's recension of the Jaina scriptures, though it is not contained in the *Siddhānta*. The *Kalpasutra* is said to contain 1216 *granthas* in all (Law, B.C. *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, Chapter XX, Kalpa Sūtra, p. 96)

108. Ānandapura is the mordern Bādnagar or Vādanagar in northern Gujarāt. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

109. *idem*. But this name could be misleading because Burgess associates Kalpasūtra with Dhruvasena II (c. A.D. 640). Senagaja is the son of this ruler.

110. Vinaya Vijaya, *Kalpasutra-Sbodhikā*, p. 9.

111. Kapadia, H.R., *op. cit.*, p. 63.

112. Jinaprabhava Suri, *Tāpāgacchhā Pattāvali*, (Singhi Jain series) p. 93

113. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 64

114. *ibid*, p. 60 ff.

115. One Nayachakra by Devasena Sūri has come down to us. It mentions Mallavadin as a great logician. However, it cannot be said with certainty that it was with the help of this Nayachakra, that Mālla defeated the Buddhists.

116. Mālla's other two brothers were Jitayasas or Jinayasas and Yakśa.

117. Jitayasas wrote a Nyasa, a sort of commentary on a work of grammar, known as the *Viśranta vidyā dharavara* or *Viśrant*

Vidyā dhara (Hema Chandra in his grammar Sidha-Hema, vide *Purāttatva*, Vol IV, p. 91). Yakśa composed a Saṁhita known as *Nimmittas tangabodhini* while Mālla wrote his famous treatise on Jaina philosophy known as *Naya chakra.*

118. In the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* of Merutunga Āchārya, tr. by Tawney C.H., we are informed that the Sun placed some pebbles in the hands of these children and not a dagger. (p. 170-171).

119. James Hastings, *op. cit.*, Vol VII, p. 474.

120. Altekar, A.S. 'Surat plates of Karkkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa Śaka, 743' *EI*, Vol XXI, p. 135.

121. *Śatrunjaya Mahātmya* is a legendary Jaina work which was composed to celebrate the mountain of Śatrunjaya, which lies besides the famous Jaina tirtha Pālitānā and was written according to statements contained in it (I, 13-15, XIV , 283-286, 342), at Valabhi. It is believed to be an older work than the *Kalpasūtra*. It is said that the work was completed when 477 years had passed since Vikrami era. This equates to 421 A.D. But we know that the Maitraka dynasty was not established at that time. Burgess who associates Kalpa Sūtra to the reign of Dhruvasena II (c. 630-642 A.D.) says that there was a difference of 33 years between the two works (Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 85). According to him and Weber (*Uber das Śatrunjaya Mahātmyam*, pp. 11-12). The Śatrunjaya Mahātmya was written in 598 A.D. and the Kalpa sūtra in 632 A.D. This proves that the former work was composed during the times of king Śilāditya I (c. 595-610 A.D.) Forbes, A.K., (*Rāsmālā*,p. 7-8) and Majumdār, M.R. *C.O.G.*, p. 155) also subscribe to this view, though they do not agree with Burgess on the date of *Kalpasūtra*, which they believe was composed in its

present form during the rule of king Dhruvasena I. They are probably true in this regards. Still the date of the composition of this work is uncertain.

122. We are told that Dhaneśvara sūri, euchred the colours of the Buddhists who were buffed up with pride on account of their knowledge and he defeated them by '*Syādvād*' i.e. 'May be' or the science of Logic. (*Śatrunjaya Mahātmya*, tr. by Popatlāl Prabhudas, p 769) also Majumdār, M.R., *C.O.G.*, p. 155 and 186.

123. Rehatsek, E., 'Paper on Satrunjaya and the Jains' *IA* Vol II, 1873, pp. 194-95. The opinion that Śilāditya, the Maitraka king was an adherent of the Jaina doctrine is untenable; it entirely contradicts the data given by Huen tsang and the fact that this king is credited with the instalation of seven Buddha images in a vihāra near his palace. (Majumdār, M.R., *op. cit.*,p. 155). Of course the Jaina religion enjoyed the protection of this monarch, but he did not belong to this sect himself.

124. Though uncertainty prevails in this regards, the king was probably Śilāditya I alias Dharmāditya. It has been said that this title of '*Dharmāditya*' was conferred on him by the Jains because they regarded him as the protector of their faith (Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 8). But the Buddhists do not regard this to be true as they say that the monarch was given the title because he reposed his faith in the three noble one's, viz., *Buddha*, *Dharma*, *Sangha*.

125. Forbes, A.K., *Rāsmālā*, p. 5-7.

126. Such a maxim is also prevalent in Scotland – "just like the work of Saint Mangona, this work also will never end". In English also there is one proverb for an impossible work – 'A brooding hen on

the top of a China Egg.' (Now the China egg is never going to hatch)

127. Majumdār, M.R., *op. cit.*, p. 150.

128. This is the date of the MS and not of the work as suggested by Jinavijaya (who is known to have discovered this manuscript), vide *Ganadhara vada* by Pt. Dalsukh Malvaniya, introduction, p. 32. But other scholars think that the date (531, i.e., 609 A.D) was that of the composition of *Viśeśavassaṿabhaśa* of Jinabhadrangani, vide *Jaina Sāhitya ka Bṛahad Itihās*, (Vārāṇasi), Vol III, pp. 130 ff.

129. Majumdār, M.R., *op. cit.*, p. 162.

130. Tod, J., *Travels in Western India*, p. 268. In the Hindi Version of the Book, it has been said that 'bells of eighty four Jaina temples tolled' (p. 233) while at another place the number of the Jaina temples has been shown as three hundred sixty (p. 284).

131. Merutunga, *op. cit.*, (Singhi Jain series), p. 228, also P.C.M. tr by Tawney, C.H., pp. 174-75

132. Jinaprabhavasūri, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

133. *Purātana Prabandhasangraha*, (Singhi Jain series), p. 84; *Vividhatirtha Kalpa* (Singhi Jain series), p. 29. In India there is a belief that the idols flee or disappear from the places where danger is evident. This belief is found in other countries also. Forbes has noted from *Aenied*,II, pp. 351-353, that whenever people saw some danger for the country before them, they used to tie the idol with chains, in order to prevent their flight. The Phoenicians used to keep the idol of Melcorth tied fast. The same was practiced by the Romans when their forts were about to be surrounded.

134. Chandraprabha was the eighth of the twenty four Tirthānkaras of the Jainas. His image at Prabhās Patan bears an inscription that it hailed from Valabhi (*Gujarāt State Gazetteer, Bhāvnagar District*, Ch. II, p. 55)

135. *Lalit Kalā* Nos. 1-2, p. 59; also Shāh, U.P., *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol I, p. 138.

136. Ratnanandi, *Bhadrabāhucharita*, Ch. IV, Verse 133 ff.

137. Moray, M.S., in fact tries to prove that Maitrakas were originally Buddhists. He cites the examples of the numerous land grants to Buddhist viharas and not a single one to any Jaina temple or Bhagvata Hindu temple, to prepare a case in favour of his contention, cf. *History of Buddhism in Gujarāt*, ch V, *'Maitraka period'* p. 68-88.

138. Sankalia, *AOG*, p. 229.

139. Vogel, 'Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site of Nāgarjunakondā', *EI*, XX, p. 22, (Inscription –F)

139A *Fifth Edict.*

139B Chapter VIII

139C Chapter XVI

139D Burgess, J., *Antiquities of Kāthiāwāḍ and Kutch*,p. 149; Sankalia, H.D., *op. cit.*, p. 51. There are thirty caves at Talaja.

139E Sankalika, H.D., *op. cit.*, p. 53. Anakchandra, 'Rock cut Buddhist monastery at Sana Hills', Moraes, *Bibligoraphy of Indological Studies*, 1942, p. xxii ff. The Caves at Sana number about sixty two.

140. Diskālkar, *op. cit.*, XX , p. 1-8.

141. Term such as *sanghakśetra, sthāvira Brāhma deya Kśetra*, occur in lines 36-39 of the copper plate grant of Dharasena II,

JBBRAS (N.S) I, pp. 50-53; Some other instance can also be mentioned, e.g., *Bavya sthāviraka kśhetra* (line 49) of Dharasena IV's grant *IA*, Vol 1, p 14; also *Satka.... Koutaumba kśhetra* (line 59) of Śilāditya III's grant, *EI*, IV, p. 74.

142. One of this variety is exhibited at Bhāvnagar Gandhi Smriti Bhavan (old Barton Museum Section). Excavations at the basements of ancient building at Valā, conducted by Father Heras in 1934, yielded parts of a damaged terracotta *Stūpa* and a clay seal bearing the effigy of an Elephant, it being the symbol of Buddhas mortal form in the previous birth. (now in the Bombay Historical Research Institute, Saint Xavier's College)

143. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Barodā State*, 1940, pp. 5-7.

144. Bhadārkar, 'A Valabhi copper plate Grant', *IA*, Vol IX, p. 104.

145. The Dudda-Maha-Vihāra, as it was called later, incorporated in it various monasteries, viz., Bhatārka Vihāra, Gohaka vihāra, Abhayāntarika vihār, Kākkā vihāra, Buddhadāsa vihāra, Vimalagupta vihāra and the Sthirmati vihāra – e.g. 'Botad Plates', *IA*, VI, p. 12 ff.

145A Gadre A.S., 'Fiva Valā Plates', *J.U.B.* Vol III, p. 80-88.

146. *ibid*, pp. 79-82

147. Bhandārkar's *List of Northern Indian inscriptions*, Appendix *EI*, Vol. XIX-XXIII, Nos. 1304, 1305, 1311-13, 1327, 1331, 1341, 1354, 1360, 1595, 1598 and 1600.

148. Bloch, 'King Dhruvasena I's grant dated V.S. 217', *J.A.B.S.*, 1895, p. 379.

149. According to Śāstri, Hari Prasād, Buddhadāsa was a disciple of Asanga. In that case this vihara must have been constructed before Maitraka period. *Maitraka kalin Gujarāt*, Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, 1955, pt. II, p. 397. But Virji avers that this Buddhadāsa cannot be identified with the Buddhadāsa who was the author of Mahāvibhāṣa Śāstra, Virji, *AHS*, p. 173.

150. Bühler, 'A grant from Valabhi (–Guhasena's grant of 248 G.E.)', *IA*, Vol V, p. 206.

151. Bühler, 'Further Valabhi grants', *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 15.

152. In one of the inscriptions of Dharasena II (which is in corroded condition) we find, ' in the vihara constructed by the trader kākkā (of the) Mankila (gotra), situated near Dudda vihāra.' This is extracted from the unread portion of Dharasana II's grant dated V.S. 270, *J.B.B.R.A.S*(N.S.) I, p. 68. The plates were covered with thick verdigris when Āchārya, G.V., published his notes in the above mentioned Journal and therefore some part of it was omitted from the text. On subsequent cleaning the new name came to light. This portion mentions the vihara as constructed by *Vanija kākkā* near Dudda vihāra. It reads : दुड्डाविहारस्याभ्यन्तरे वाणिजककक्कमाकिलकारित बिहारे– Dikshit Moreshwar G, 'A New vihāra at Valabhi', Miscellany, *I.H.Q.* Vol XVI, p. 816-818. Mankila was a gotra amongst the vaiśyas, cf. *Gotra Pravara Nibandha Kadamba* (G.O.L., Mysore series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 25), p. 26

153. Diskālkar, 'Śilāditya III's grants of V.S. 343 and 356', *J.B.B.R.A.S* (N.S), Vol. I, pp. 38-39 and 63.

154. *idem*, Mahārāja Dhruvasena II as well as Śilāditya II also gave grant to this *vihāra.*

155. Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

156. Bühler, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 15.

157. On account of the fact that the term *'pada'* (respected) is being used in the Maitraka inscriptions in connection with both Dudda and Mimma, it has been concluded that the latter was also a popular *paramopasika* belonging to the royal family of the Maitrakas.

158. Gadre, 'Five Vala plates – Śilāditya I's grants of vs. (G.E.) 287 and 290', *'Journal of University of Bombay*, Vol. III, pp. 82, 84; also Dhurvasena II's grant of G.E. 319, *ibid.*, p. 90

159. *ibid.*, p. 90 (Dhruvasena II's grant of G.E. 319)

160. *ibid.*, p. 79, (Garulaka Varahadāsa's grant of G.E. 230)

161. This place which was in the vicinity of Valabhi originally formed a part of Dhruvasena I's dominious. The Maitraka king gifted it to the Garulaka ruler Varahadāsa II who then donated it to the Buddhists.

162. Dikshit, M.G., *op. cit.*, XVI, p. 817.

163. Diskālkar, 'A copper plate grant of Śilāditya I, dated v.S. 286', *JBBRAS*(N.S.), Vol 1, pp. 27-33.

164. Yuan Chwang while describing king Śilāditya I of Mālvā in his account states that 'by the side of his palace he built a vihara', and further he says', 'he exhausted the skills of the artists and used every kind of or naments in decorating it. In it he put images of the seven Buddhas, lords of the world', Beal, S, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 261-62. On this basis Mrs. Virji thinks that this was the vihara which was built by Maitraka king Śilāditya who also

ruled over Mālvā (Virji, *A.H.S* p. 174). But this corroboration does not appear to be true as the above mentioned king built the vihara near his palace, while the vihara in question was constructed in Vamśakata. Morey, M.S., believes it to be a town some where in south Gujarāt, *History of Buddhism in Gujarat*, p. 85. Mean while, the seven Buddhas mentioned in the account of Yuan Chwang are (i) Vipāsyi (ii) Sikhi, (iii) Viśvabhu (iv) Kakusandha (v) Konagamana (vi) Kaśyapa and (vii) Gautama.

165. Bhandārkar R.G. ' A grant of Valabhi king Dharasena IV, dated 326', *IA*, Vol. 1, p. 45.

166. *idem.* This town/village was in the Hastavapra Āhāra (Hathab district) of Saurāstra.

167. This *Divirapati* Skandbhatta was the grand son of the chief scribe of the Maitraka ruler Dharasena IV.

168. Bühler, *ibid*, Vol VI, p. 12.

169. This Sthiramati was different from the one mentioned above (Āchārya Bhikśu Sthiramati, under whose auspices the Sthirmati vihāra was made). Morey avers that this Sthiramati was a well known disciple of Asanga, *ibid*, p. 82. But Dikshit, M.G., argues that this vihara was built by Āchārya Bhadanta Sthiramati, the famous disciple of Vasubandhu, Dikshit, *op. cit.*, p. 817. Virji also subscribes to this view.

170. This vihara was meant for monks from foreign countries, belonging probably to the Hinayāna sect. This is borne out by the expressions like:'नानादेशप्रमत्वागतार्थ्यभिक्षुसंघस्थ'and'अष्टादशनिकाभ्यान्तरार्य्यभि

क्षुसंघस्य' –(Dikshit, M.G. 'History of Buddhism in Gujarāt', *Journal of Gujarāt Research Society*, 1946, pp. 95-113.

171. Yuan Chwang used the term *Sangharama* to denote a large vihāra where Sangha stays

172. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

173. Dikshitm M.G., 'Valabhi, the Ancient Buddhist University', *Historical and Economic studies*, Fergusson College, Poonā, 1941, p. 57.

174. This king was probably Śilāditya I who also ruled over Mālvā. Yuan Chwang tells us that, 'this king built a vihara near his palace where in he put images of seven Buddhas. Every year he convoked as assembly called *Mahā mokśhaperiṣada* and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them 'the four things' (viz., Food, clothing, medicine and vihāra), in religious charity ; 'he also gave them sets of three garments used in their religious services, and also bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety'. Beal, S, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 261-262. Śilāditya I took the title of Dharmāditya and it has been suggested that thus he did because of his love for *Dhamma* (Pali version of the term *Dharma*).

175. *Śila* which means moral character, is one of the *paramita* which the Bodhisatva has to practice. Most of the names of the Maitraka kings start with words like *śila.*

176. The three precious one's or the true treasures of Buddhism are *Buddha*, *Dhamma* and *Sangha.*

177. A monk was generally expected to receive his food by alms, but the grant imply that this was not absolutely necessary for him, when he lived a settled life in a vihāra.

178. Sayanasana means a dwelling place for sleeping and resting where the monk lodge at different cells of the vihāras.

179. Generally a Bhikśu kept three Chiviras (garments) in all, i.e., the inner garment (*antaravasak)*, the upper garment (*uttarasanga*), and the extra garment intended for protection against cold (*Sanghati*); cf. Kosambi, *Buddha Sangha no Parichaya*, p. 3

180. Diskālkar, 'Dhruvasena III's undated grant', *JBBRAS* (N.S), I, p. 35

181. *ibid.*, Śilāditya I's grant, pp. 21-24.

182. Barnett, 'Valā copper plate Grant', *EI* XIII, p. 330; also Bühler, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 174.

183. Bühler, 'Guhasena grant of V.S. 240', *IA*, VII, 1878, p. 67.

184. Bühler, 'A Valabhi grant', *IA*, IX, 1880, p. 237

185. Bhandārkar's *list Nos* 1333, 1341, 1360 etc.

186. *Āryа -Mañjuśri -Mūla-Kalpa*, 587-591, Jayaswāl, *Imperial History of India*, p. 24.

187. Watters, *op. cit., p. 242.*

188. Takakusu, I tsing, *A record of the Buddhist Religion*, London, 1896, p. 147.

189. A schism took place about a century after the Buddha's *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, because of the efforts made by some monks for relaxation of the stringent rules observed by the orthodox monks. The monks who deviated from the rules were called *Mahāsānghikas* while the conservative monks were named as the *Therāvadins* (or *Sthāvira vadins)*. During the later period the *Mahasanghika* sect split into seven schools, viz., (1) *Ekavyaharika* (2) *Lokottaravada* (3) *Kukkutikā* or *Gokulikā* (4)

Bahusrutiya (5) *Prajñaptivada* (6) *Caityaika and* (7) *Purvaśailika, Aparaśilika or Uttara Sailika, Rayagrihika Siddharthika* etc.

The *Therāvāda* also split into eleven Nikāyas, namely, (1) *Vatisputriya* (2) *Dharmottariya* (3) *Bhadrayaniya* (4) *Sammitiya* (5) *Sannagārika* (6) *Haimavatika* (7) *Sarvastivādins* (8) *Vibhājyavadin* (9) *Kaśyapiya* (10) *Mahāśasika* and (11) *Sautrāntika*

This is how the eighteen schools of Buddhism came into being. These different schools originated mainly on account of interpretation of the *Vinaya* rules. (Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 78).

But *Sogen* in *Systems of the Buddhist Thought*, p. 100 ff., gives a different list. The eighteen schools of Bhikśus according to him were as follows : *(1) Mūla-Mahā-Sānghika (2) Ekavyahārikas (3) Lokottara vadins (4) Kauru Kullakās (5) Bahusrutiyas (6) Prajñaptivadins (7) Caityaśailas (8) Avara śailas (9) Śailas (10) Vatsiputriyas (11) Dharmottaras (12) Bhadrayanikas (13) Sammitiyas (14)Sannagārikas (15) Mahi śāskas (16) Dharśnaguptakas (17) Kasyapāyas (18) Sautrāntikas.*

Yuan Chwang records that there were eighteen schools of Buddhism (cf. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 80) and we know that originally all the eighteen schools were affiliated to *Hinayāna* or the little vehicle (cf. Tākākusu, *op. cit.*, p. 260 ff).

190. The *Sammitiya* school formed a sub division of the *Therā Vadins (Sthāviravadins).* The Sthaviravadins represented the conservative or orthodox school of the first schism in Buddhism. The *Sammitiya* school, though as old as the third century B.C., is believed to have come into prominence in the fifth century A.D., when it established itself in Mālvā. Yuan

Chwang calls it the *Hinayāna Sammitiya school* while I-tsing terms it as *Ārya Sammitiya Nikāya.* The tenets of this school are not detailed but is seems that its principles were not fundamentally different from those of the school described in *Kathā Vatthu*, the fifth book of the *Abhidhamma Pitaka.* This work, though composed originally in third century B.C., is dated in its present form in the fifth century A.D., approximately contemporary with the rise and spread of the *Sammitiyas in* Western India. Dutt, *History of the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist schools*, pp. 296-302.

The Sammitiyas held that 'an *ārhat*, already in possession of Nirvāna can fall away; that there is an 'intermediate state' *(antarbhava)*; regarding the *Karma*, that while there is a merit in donating, there is also a merit accruing to the donor by the use which a monk makes of the objects given; that even the declaration of non killing, is a moral act; that a *pudgala*, a sort of body or soul, which was permanent, existed'. The last one was the most important tenet of the *Sammitiya* sect, and for it they were violently condemned by all other Buddhist schools. For this view was contrary to the very basic principle of Buddhism, namely, *Kśanikava* or *Kśaṇabhangavāda* (Temporariness)

191. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 260 ff.
192. Tākākusu, *op. cit.*, p. XXIV
193. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
194. Kimura, 'A Historical study of the terms Mahāyāna and Hinayāna and origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism', *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta), XIII, p. 45 ff.

195. Yuan Chwang in his account records that 'there are some hundred Sangharamas with about 6000 priest. Most of them study the *Little Vehilcle*, according to the Sammātiya school'. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

196. Some disagreement prevails amongst scholars about the nature of Buddhism at Valabhi. Sankalia in the *University of Nālandā*, p. 180, and Diskālkar, in his article on 'Buddhist Monasteries in Valabhi', *P.T.O.C.* 7th session, Barodā, 1933, p. 813, have laid undue stress on the preponderance of the Hinayana, on the testimony of Yuan Chwang's statement. Again Sankalia in *AOG*, p. 232, quips that at Valabhi, the Hinayānists might have been worshipping the Buddha and at Valabhi, greater emphasis was laid on the study of Hinayāna doctrines than those of the Mahāyāna. But it must be said that there are definite evidences which show that the Mahāyāna sect also prevailed there.

196 A. Beal, S., *op. cit.*, II, p. 269; Watters, T., *op. cit.*, II, p. 248.

196 B. Beal, S., *op. cit.*, II, p. 268, This is confirmed by the Valā plates grant of Dharasena II (*IA*, *VI*, pp. 9-12) which mentions Sthirmati (of Mahāy-āna Sthavira school) as Āchārya Bhadanta Sthirmati who founded the vihara of Sri Bappā pada at Valabhi.

196 C. Beal, S., *op. cit.*, II, p. 171

197. Diskālkar, 'An undated plate of Dhruvasena III', *JBBRAS* (N.S), Vol I, p. 35.

198. Bhadārkar, 'A Valabhi Grant', *IA*, Vol. I., p. 14.

199. *ibid.*, p. 334.

200. *Catalogue of the Finds in Valabhi*, *Indian Historical Research* Institute, St. Xavier's college, Bombay (prepared by Dr. Sankalia).

201. *W.M.A.R.*, Rajkot, 1938-39, p. 29.

202. *P.R.A.S.I.W.C.*, 1915, Appendix, p. 30. Sankalia and Shāh, U.P. have ascribed these statues to Jainism while Majumdār, M.R., describes them as Buddhist.

203. Beal, S., *op. cit.*, 1884, pp. 266-67.

204. This ruler is generally regarded as *Dhruvasena II* (c. 630-642 A.D.) during whose reign Yuan Chwang visited Valabhi (c. 640 A.D.). The Chinese pilgrim mentions his name as *Tu-lu-po-po-ta*. Burgess (*ASWI*, II, pp. 82 ff.) and Virji also subscribe to this view. But Bühler (*IA*, VII, p. 80) and Cunningham (*ASIAR*, IX, pp. 16, 18) think that this king was Śilāditya VI while Oldenberg thinks that he is a cousin of Dhruvasena II. (*IA*, X, p. 219)

205. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

206. *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-Mūla Kalpa* mentions his as '*Dharmarāja*', text in Jayaswāl, K.P., *op. cit.*, p. 24.

206A. *ibid.*, pp. 257-58.

207. *ibid.*, p. 263

208. Yuan Chwang, however believes that both Sthiramati and Guṇamati were the disciples of Vasubandhu, the 21st patriarch. (Beal, *op. cit.*,p. 104). Sthirmati is said to have written commentaries on all the works of Vasubandhu while Guṇamati wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakoṣa* (an introduction to Mahāyāna).

209. Beal, S., *op. cit.*, p. 104-110.

210. *ibid.*, p. 146.

211. The text describes Pindaćarika as follows:

तत्र देशे समाख्यातो भिक्षु : पिण्डचारिका :||590||

शीलवान् बुद्धिसंपन्नो बुद्धाना शासने रतः |

कालचरि महात्माऽसौ प्रविष्टो पिण्डचारिकम् ||592||35पटल||

– Jayaswāl, K.P., *An Imperial History of India*, *p. 24.*

212. *Vijayantikoṣa* was a work compiled by Yādavaprakāśa in the eleventh century A.D. The following verse from the text gives a clue about the origin of the Maitrakas :

सुघन्वा इशानं शाक्य चैत्यादि मैत्रक :|(104)

– *Vaijayantikoṣa* of Yādavaprakāśa, Mānusyadhyāya, p. 104. Based on this Morey, M.S., concludes that the Maitrakas were originally Buddhists, *op. cit.*, p. 67-68.

CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION

History is a record of unique events in the life of mankind. To exist is to change, to change is to mature, and to mature is to advance and make progress. History is the barometer to record this human progress and in this sense is philosophy in motion. The past is inteligible to us only in the light of the present; and we can fully understand the present only in the light of the past. This is precisely why J. Burckhardt in his work *Judgements on History and on Historians* (1959), terms History as a record of what one age finds worthy of note in another. To enable man to understand the society of the past, and to increase his control over the society of the present, is the dual function of History.

Ancient Indian History is like a dream. A dream has virtually everything except a clearly demarcated script or a complete story. When we wake up after having a dream, we do not remember it *in toto*. Instead we have only fabricated impressions. It is only with our active imagination that we construct the whole plot. Same is the case with the Ancient Indian History. The fabric of its entire tale is broke. We have clear impressions of some periods like the Harrapan, Āryan, and the Buddha one's; get definite ideas about various large empires like the Mauryas, Guptas, Puśhyabhūtis etc.; but in between there are a lot of voids and vacuums which plead for fulfillment. Here the historian, who is also a dreamer, though of a different kind, comes to the rescue and he with his expert handling of the existing facts and prudent analysis approximates the various events and tries to fill these gaps.

Quite frankly, I do not possess the expertise, the resources and talent to plug any one of these big gaps. But a sincere effort has been made through this thesis to fill a part of the vacuum which existed from about c. A.D. 475-775, in Western India. This research has tried to explore and assess, critically, the political, social, economic and cultural contributions of the Maitrakas to the history of Western India and in turn, to the history of ancient India as a whole, during there three century long rule over parts of Gujarāt in the post Gupta period.

The importance of regional dynasties such as the one under review is greatly realized today. This awareness has resulted in a number of treatises on regional history. Though the Maitrakas have been noticed by scholars interested in northern and western India, in ancient times, the accent of such notices has been pronouncedly political and dynastic. It has, therefore, necessitated a detailed study of the Maitraka socio-economic and cultural milieu alongside their polity and administrative set up. This task became all the more urgent in the light of the fact that the Maitraka monarchs ruled in an era which is today being debated as marking the beginning of the feudal tendencies in ancient Indian society, economy and polity.

The real value of history is indeed, not moral, but scientific; by liberalizing the mind, by deepening the sympathies, by fortifying the will, it enables us to control, not society, but ourselves, a much more important thing; it prepares us to live more humanely in the present and to meet rather than to foretell the future. Historical knowledge enables us to place our perceptions into a meaningful context and to discern the cause and effect relationships between events that serve as the basis for future expectations.

Thus instead of being a descriptive catalogue of political events relating to the rise and fall of the Maitraka kings, this work follows a more humanistic approach which takes into account all the multifarious activities of common people during the Maitraka rule. Further, an attempt has been made to add flesh and blood to the dry skeleton of Maitraka history, with the help of such material as may be gleaned from a close scrutiny of the original sources. It is hoped that the appendix, tables, maps, genealogies and chronologies will be of immense use to any sincere student of ancient Indian history.

For a comprehensive view of the Maitraka period, the numerous land grant charters of the dynasty form the most copious form of our information. Nearly one hundred and thirty inscriptions of this kingdom have been discovered and published so far. Most of these epigraphs, some of which are discovered quite recently, are incorporated in this thesis. Apart from the epigraphic records, archaeology has also come to our aid in this regard. The repeated excavations in the Maitraka capital, Valabhi, and its adjoining areas have yielded various artifacts. For instance, three historical sites in the Ghelo valley have yielded the red polished wares belonging to the early centuries of the Christen era, which are quite similar to the ware later found at Valabhi. Incidentally, when Robert Bruce Foote explored the Bhāvnagar peninsula in 1916, he reported his finds as belonging to the Neolithic and pottery of the later period. But the credit of the discovery of the early Paleolithic implements in Saurastra goes to R.N Mehtā, who made excavations in the area in the year 1950-51. Middle Paleolithic stone tools were unearthed from Rāmpur in the vicinity of Valabhi. Again, from the Ghelo river bed in Valabhipur and Nesdi near Valabhi, Late Stone age tools have been

discovered, recently. Thus, the archaeological finds from Valabhi and its vicinity assist us in forming an overall view of the Maitraka times.

Though the literary references to the Maitrakas and their centre of power, Valabhi, are few and we come across only fleeting references to them in the records of some contemporary dynasties, still the accounts like the one of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang provides us with rare knowledge of the Maitrakas, their kingdom and their rule. The studies conducted hitherto on the dynasty have mentioned only Chinese (Yuan Chwang and I-Tsing) and Arab (Albaruni's) notices. For the first time Korean and Muslim references to the Maitrakas or their capital Valabhi are given in this research. Among the various foreign pilgrims who visited India or more specifically western India, the name of the Koreans may be added. One of their travellers named Hui-Ch'Ao visited Western India during the eighth century (725 A.D.). He gives invaluable information regarding the Maitrakas of Valabhi, their maritime endeavours and their confrontation with the Tajjikas (Arabs). Abul Fazl has also mentioned Valabhi as a place situated at a distance of about 32 kms. from Ghoga (a famous sea-port near Bhāvnagar during the times of the Mughals). Further, the classical accounts of Pliny, Ptolemy and Strabo along with the indigenous literary evidences relevant from the Maitraka point of view, whether Hindu, Jaina or Buddhist of contemporary nature or of later period are studied and interpreted from an entirely different angle.

Numismatics also help us in understanding the Maitraka sway. The Valabhi coins like the Gupta ones are found to be silver coated and not made of pure silver. A series of silver and copper coins are attributed to the Maitrakas and their study is useful in linking Śarva

and Śaśa Bhatāraka to the main lineage of the Maitraka dynasty. But the information that we extract from the Maitraka coins pertains mainly to their religion. The device of a bull (the sacred vehicle of Śiva) and the trident (another emblem of Śaivism) on these coins, shows that Saivism was the dominant religion during the Maitraka period. But some of the later coins also have the emblem of *paraśu* (battle axe), pertaining to Parśurāma, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, thus showing that Vaiṣṇavism was equally popular. Quite recently a few new coins of the Maitrakas (both silver and copper) have been discovered from Vādnagar, the ancient Ānandpur. They have also been assimilated in the present work. Overall, however, the scope of these coins is limited because as compared to the other dynasties, very few Maitraka coins have hitherto surfaced in the course of excavations.

The architectural remnants are not available for scrutiny regarding the Maitrakas but the references to the temples of Goddesses Paṇduraja and Kottammabikā and about fifteen Buddhist *vihāras* in the Maitraka records (the latter also testified by Yuan Chwang's account) presupposes great architectural activities. Though not a single structure has emerged from the repeated excavations at the Maitraka capital, J.M. Nānāvati and M.A. Dhaky in their work *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temple Architecture* have tried to deduce certain inferences from the available archaeological remains of the period. These references to the archaeological endeavours alongside the sculptural vestiges (in the form of *Nandi's* found at Valabhi and its adjoining areas) have also been incorporated in this work directed at the reappraisal of the Maitraka times.

A minute analysis of the Maitraka achievements and contributions is rendered difficult by the fact that the source material is both scanty and scattered. On the basis of the sketchy and incomplete data obtained from both primary and secondary sources, the picture which emerges is clear about a few aspects of their rule, hazy about others and a lot about them still remains shrouded in mystery. However, this much is indisputable that the founder of this dynasty, Bhatārka, branched out when his overlord, a Gupta king became weak. Later on, his successors threw away the yoke of the suzerainty of the Aulikaraa kings and assumed total independence.

This brings us to the controversy regarding the over lordship of the Maitrakas. There has been a great debate over the issue. We know that Skanda Gupta was incharge of Saurāśtra upto 457 A.D. (as his inscriptions clearly show that he appointed Praṇadatta as its governor). This along with the fact that the Maitrakas of Valabhi were the most durable of the succession states that came into existence on the ruins of the Gupta empire, has led many a notable historians to declare the Guptas to be the overlords of Maitrakas. Subscribers to this view are S.R. Goyal, P.L. Gupta, R.C. Majumdār, V.V. Mirāshi, Buddha Prakāsh, A. Cunningham and B.P. Sinhā. While the first four declare Guptas to be their overlords in general, the last three are more specific in describing Vainya Gupta, Budha Gupta and Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya respectively as the overlords of the Maitrakas. There are other theories doing the rounds as well. K.J. Virji in her work *Ancient History of Saurāshtra* declares Vākātaka ruler Hariṣena (of the Vatsgulma branch) to be their overlord, while V.A. Smith thinks it to be the Hūṇa ruler Tormaṇa.

All these theories enunciated above, especially the Gupta one, fall flat on ground on close scrutiny. While the views of both Virji and Smith have no sound basis, the opinions of the scholars who treat Guptas to be the overlords of the Maitrakas also cannot be accepted as we have not evidence of Gupta rule in Gujarāt after Skanda Gupta. Secondly, no post Skanda Gupta inscriptions related to the Gupta kings have been discovered from the area; and finally no Gupta silver coinage of the western India type has been excavated from the region.

Of course, this controversy has originated because of the titles assumed by the early Maitraka rulers. While Bhatārka and Dharasena I were described as *Senāpatis*, the third ruler Dronasimha, though called *Mahārāja* is also described in the records of the later members of the family as 'anointed by the sole lord of the worlds himself'. Again, the fourth ruler Dhruvasena I acquired the epithet *bhattārka-pād-ānudhyata*, i.e., meditating on the feet of his sovereign. All this depicts that these rulers were not independent.

This thesis has tried to prove the Aulikara kings to be the overlords of the Maitrakas, on the basis of epigraphical evidence. It is curious to note that upto 473 A.D., the Aulikaras also acknowledged the Gupta suzrenity. But from the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. to the middle of the following century, Aulikaras became supreme in Mālwā and the adjoining areas. In his inscriptions, Yaśhodharman claims to have defeated many rulers and assumes the title of *Rajādhiraja and Parmeśvara*. He was also the overlord of the Maitrakas. Thus it seems that Bhatārka may have started as a Gupta feudatory but later on with the changed circumstances the Maitrakas shifted their loyalties in favour of the Aulikaras .

Regarding the political history of the Maitrakas, this research work adds the name of another king, known as Viṣṇusena, to the already existing list of twenty one sovereigns of the dynasty. Uptil now we have come across only a single charter of Viṣṇusena dated 592 A.D., apparently found in Gujarāt region. This king is treated to be belonging to the Maitraka dynasty on a few grounds. Firstly, Viṣṇusena is endowed with precisely the same five feudatory titles known as *Pañch mahāśabda*, which were acquired by the Maitraka rulers. Secondly, the charter issued by him is addressed to the same set of officials which were mentioned in the Maitraka grants. Then again, Viṣṇusena uses the interesting epithet. *Param bhatārka Śri-bavā-pād-ānudhyata*, i.e., meditating on the feet of the illustrious bava. This reminds us of the several Maitraka kings who acquired the same epithet. Still further, Lohāta or Lohātaka grāma which was his headquarter, was for most of the times under the Maitraka dominions. This brings us to an interesting fact of the Maitraka polity. It seems that just like the Kśatrapas some of the Maitraka rulers also reigned in juxta position. For instance, Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I ruled side by side. Thus, it hardly comes as a surprise when we find Viṣṇusena ruling side by side with the main branch of the Maitraka sovereign. Lastly, in connection with the relation of Viṣṇusena with the Maitrakas, reference could also be made to his name, Viṣṇusena or Viṣṇubhata. We know that the names of the Maitraka kings ended usually with the world *sena*, but some times also with the suffix *bhata*. What is, however, more interesting is that as in the case of Viṣṇusena- Viṣṇubhata, some times a Maitraka ruler is also found to have brone a name ending with both *sena* and *bhata* (e.g., DhruvasenaII Bāldatiya was also known as Dhruvabhata). Viṣṇusena,

in all probability ruled from A.D. 589 to A.D. 605. This thesis also has tried to settle the controversy regarding the reigns of Śilāditya II and III. A chart showing the overlapping rule of the two is prepared for the first time.

Right from the inception of this dynasty in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D., till its eclipse some time after A.D. 775, the role played by the sovereigns of the Maitraka ruling clan in the political and socio-economic milieu of western India, was by no means insignificant. These rulers might not have wielded much influence beyond the boundaries of their dominions but within the confines of their territory they were certainly a force to reckon with. Not only did they check the political disintegration in Gujarāt following the decline of the Imperial Guptas, but also left their mark in the fields of administration, religion, education, social and economic set ups.

Such a long reign of the dynasty and its successful endeavours in various facets of life must have rested on a sound administrative set up. We have not much information, either regarding the exact nature, ideology or philosophy of the Maitraka administrative machinery, or the specific working of its system. Further, we are at a loss to comprehend the relation of a particular territorial unit *vis-à-vis* another. However, some idea of the Maitraka administration can be formed by designations of some of the officials and territorial units mentioned in their epigraphic records. It seems that their administration drew heavily from its predecessors and had imports from the Scythian, Kśatrapa and Gupta administrative systems. Again, on the basis of frequent references to Manu, Kautilya, Dhramaśāstras etc., in the Maitraka epigraphs it can be said that their administrative

set up was influenced by ancient Indian ideals and practices. Though the Maitrakas adopted the administrative models of their predecessors with some modifications to suit the local conditions, they also devised certain administrative divisions and official designations of their own. A part of this work is devoted not only to the study of these designations and divisions but also to establishing the hierarchy and horizontal and vertical relations between these territorial units.

Tables showing the horizontal and vertical divisions of the territorial units under the Maitrakas are prepared for the first time. Again, a unique attempt has been made to analyse and interpret the various official designations. With the new interpretation of these terms this research hopes to open new vistas to all the future researchers on the topic. The official *Chaurodharṇika* has been believed by most of the scholars as a thief catcher on the basis of the root *Chaura* (चौर), meaning thereby, thievish. But the same root could be taken to mean a hand fan or whisk (चँवर) and thus the official could mean the incharge of a set of officials who were whisk bearers (चँवर डुलाने वाले) and used to provide comfort to the king. Again, *Annutpanna-dāna-Samudgrāhaka*, which has been interpreted variously without much conviction, is defined etymologically as an officer who was incharge of the collection of land tax from a field on the ripening of the crops. *Pratisāraka* has been interpreted etymologically as the one who squeezes information or takes out the jist, i.e., an officer related to the espionage department. Next, an attempt has been made to interpret two hitherto undefined official designations, viz., the *Karmāntika* and the *Kāṭebhārika*. While the former means a coordinator or a Liaison officer (सूत्रधार), the latter

means an officer who is connected with the movement of the royal family in a palanquin. (काठ : + भारिक, i.e., one who carries the weight of wood). *Hastyaśvāroha* has also been interpreted as an officer who could ride on both the horse and the elephant.

Overall, the thesis has identified a totals of thirty three administrative officers under the Maitrakas. The maximum number of officials identified thus far were twenty seven. (H.D Sankalia in *Archaeology of Gujarāt*). Thus, an addition is made in this regards as well. Further, the terms like *tat-pād-ānudhyataḥ* which occurs in most of the Maitraka epigraphs and denotes veneration of the predecessor by every succeeding king has been studied in the light of the Gupta inscriptions to under stand its true implications. Apart from this great respect shown by the Maitraka ruler to their elders, the peculiar system of brother to brother succession, as practiced by the Maitrakas is also analysed.

The Maitraka society was based on the ideal of *Varna āśhrama dharma*. The prominence of the Brahmanas in the Maitraka social structure could be deduced from the liberal issuance of the majority of their land grants to them. These epigraphs provide us information regarding the various *Gotras* and *Śākhās* of brahmanas, which in turn show that the brahmanas were attracted towards the empire and fled to the city of Valabhi from far and wide. A unique attempt has been made in this work to depict the various *gotras* along with the respective Vedic *Śākhās* to which the donee brahmanas belonged. The provenance of the brahmanas including the *vāstavya* and *vinirgata* places are also mentioned. Thus far from all the scattered works that we have at our disposal, only eighteen *gotras* have been

found, but the present research elaborates brahmanas of twenty seven *gotras* as were existing during the Maitraka period.

But the brahmanas were not the only beneficiaries, as donations were also made to the Buddhist *Vihāras*. The social institutions were well established. People celebrated their festivals with great enthusiasm and lived in perfect harmony. The kings were benevolent and their munificence went a long way in making their empire a welfare state. The various facets of life during the Maitraka period, especially, their food habits, drinks and their dress and ornaments are also studied in great detail. The Maitraka kingdom achieved greatness in the field of education as well and Valabhi became one of the renowned centres of learning during their time. It is not out of place to mention here that almost all the Maitraka rulers were highly educated. This is inferred from their inscriptions and literature of the times which describe these sovereigns to be conversant with *Epics* and *Purāṇas* and followers of *Dharmaśāstras*. Kings like Dhruvasena I, Dronasiṁha, Dhruvasena II, Śilāditya I etc are attributed some literary mastery of ancient Hindu literature like the *Vedas* and *Śāstras*. Same seems to be the case with the general public and the overall environment was of cultural advancement as people practiced self restraint and were considerate towards others. Education under the Maitrakas aimed at the aesthetic or indeed the real cultural training, precisely the factors which are missing in our present system of education and which have made us mere ignorant and undiscriminating receptacles devoid of any individual understanding or thinking.

Apart from the formal educational institutes, whether Hindu, Buddhist or Jaina, several vocational art schools were also in vogue

under the Maitrakas. These art schools for apprentices imparted technical education regarding various arts and crafts like carpentry, pottery, tanning etc., and aimed at achieving specialization of labour.

As far as the Maitraka economy is concerned, it is clear from contemporary sources that despite of the existence of various industries and trade centres, the economy mainly rested on agriculture and land formed the basis of socio-economic relations. From a close scrutiny and linguistic analysis of the place names as mentioned in the Maitraka inscriptions we can safely conclude that the majority of settlements referred to in these epigraphs fall under the category of rural settlements. This gave the Maitraka economy and society a rural character.

It is, however, important to note that the Maitrakas began their career in Valabhi which was a prosperous trading centre in the early medieval period. Hence, the Maitraka state in the initial phase, was not dependent on rural resources alone and it must also have drawn its revenue from the trading network of Valabhi. The testimony of Yuan Chwang, the contemporary literary sources such as Daṇdin's *Daśakumāracharita* and some later texts like Somdeva's *Kathāsaritsāgra* and the *Ārya-Mañju-Śri-Mūla Kalpa* refer to Valabhi as a vibrant trading entrepot with a rich mercantile community. It was known as a centre for the manufacture and trade of semi-precious stones, textiles, incense, gold and silver vessels, brassware, iron-smelting, jewellery, mirrors, wood-work, and the like. Though, in only one of their land grant charters we find mention of a coin being donated along with the customary grant of land, fields and villages; the extensive finds of Maitraka silver and copper coins in and around

Valabhi and imports from Persia and Rome suggest brisk trading activities at Valabhi.

However, territorial expansion, along with the growth of the administrative and military apparatus made it imperative to increase the mobilization of resources from huge rural base. Thus a variety of taxes are enlisted in the Maitraka land grant charters. We need not assume that the Maitraka state or the royal donees imposed and realized each of these taxes. But this list of levies and cesses could have served the purpose of familiarizing the countryside with the royal dues of a regional state. Donees were also encouraged to generate more agricultural resources within the spatial limits of their villages in order to make these villages an integral part of the intra-regional commercial network.

The general paucity of coins, virtual lack of money economy, the existence of large scale mechanism of land grants and of fragmented rural settlements during the mature and later phases of the Maitraka sway are construed to indicate towards the existence of feudalism which was emerging during this period of ancient India. But it is important to remember that in the case of the Maitrakas, neither the donated villages nor the plots of donated land depleted rural resources. The extent and type of wells, land donations and their boundaries indicate the availability of arable land and manpower beyond the donated resources. The Maitraka epigraphs do not specify any non-fiscal privileges for the donees except *brāhmadeya* rights, and the state seems to have retained administrative and legal privileges. Thus the view that land grants were responsible for the liquidation of the Maitraka royal resources also needs fresh interpretation. In fact, these land grant charters of the Maitraka

dynasty were more significant in the process of regional state formation in early medieval Gujarat.

Overall, however, even while admitting the claims of the urban and commercial nature of the Maitraka economic structure, we have to concede that these centres existed in juxtaposition to the more prominent and emphatic agrarian settlements, ultimately depicted the quasi-feudalistic nature of the later Maitraka economy.

The ethnic composition of the Maitraka society as well as the prevalence of a number of religious faiths under them show that the Maitrakas were tolerant and catholic in their religious out look. From the inscriptions of the dynasty it appears that their kings often had different religious leanings, whether it be Śaiva, Saura or Surya, Vaiṣṇava, Buddhist, Jaina or some other. The controversial question pertaining to the personal religion of the Maitraka sovereigns is examined critically. The view of M.S. Morey in favour of Buddhism cannot be accepted because their epigraphs show only a few of the Maitraka kings as professing the faith. Further, these land grant charters were frequently issued from victorious camps, which depicts the indulgence and inclination of the Maitraka rulers in wars, something quite contrary to the basis principle of *ahiṁsa*, as preached by Buddhism. The other view regarding the Maitrakas to be sun-worshippers is based on the reference to a sun temple and solar eclipse in two Maitraka epigraphs. But this theory also lack substance as out of the twenty two monarchs of the dynasty only one is known to be the devotee of this faith.

The most popular view in this regards, attested to by most of the scholars, favours Śaivism. But contrary to this popular view, this research has tried to prove Vaiṣṇavism to be the personal religion of

the Maitrakas. This is of course based of sound facts. First of all the discovery of the image of *Keśisudana* Kriṣhṇa at Valabhi (dated c. A.D. 400), along with the image of Viṣṇu at Ten in south Gujarat and the torso of Viṣṇu image from Śāmalāji reflect the spread of Vaiṣṇavism in the area even before the advent of the Maitrakas. Secondly, a few Maitraka artifacts are suggested to have been present in the vicinity of Dwārika, the second abode of Lord Kriṣṇa (an incarnation of Viṣṇu). Welcome clues to this line of investigation have been provided by Kalyāṇ Rāi Jośhi in an article in *Svādhyāya*, where he suggests that the place known as Godhadityana Dehara, only four miles from Dwārika, enshrined in its mounds the relics of the Maitraka rules, Dharapatta or Dharsena and Guhāditya. Again, one of the ten fragmentary stone inscriptions from Vala, clearly indicate that the deities like Kriṣṇa and Viṣṇu were popular not only among the people in the region but also among the Maitraka royalty. The eulogists while praising the Maitraka kings, compared them with Narsiṁha, Nārāyaṇa, Puruṣhottama, Janārdana, Upendra and other names of Kriṣṇa or Viṣṇu. The Alina copper plate grant of king Śilāditya VII (A.D. 766), contains references to the abode of Lakśmi, the destruction of Naraka, the uplifting of Prithivi and the wielding of the chakra in the eulogy of the king and thereby link him to Viṣṇu. Still further, one of the Maitraka rulers is specifically called *chakravartin* or one who supports the *chakra* (discuss), an emblem of Viṣṇu. Though the early Maitraka sovereigns were styled as 'Parama Maheśvaras' they got represented as the descendents of the Yādva tribe by the end of the period of their rule. Mythologically also the rulers of Valabhi are believed to be the descendents of Lava and Kusa (sons of Lord Rāma, another incarnation of Viṣṇu). And infact, one of

the Maitraka kings (Guhasena), specifially styled himself as 'Parama Bhāgvata'. The conflict between Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I was also compared to the one between Indra and Upendra. (Upendra was equated to Krishṇa). The composition of *Bhaṭṭi Kāvya* or *Rāvanavadha* by Bhaṭṭi under the patronage of the Maitrakas also imply the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism under their dominions. Lastly, the discovery of some later Maitraka coins, bearing the device of *Paraśu* (a battle axe) an emblem of Parśurāma, another incarnation of Viṣṇu, proves that the Maitrakas adopted Vaiṣṇavism as their personal religion in due course.

However, it must be said in the same breath that the adoption of Vaiṣṇavism as their personal religion in no way hampered the progress of other religions, which continued to flourish under the Maitraka dominions. The liberal attitude and the religious tolerance, which is accepted as a special feature of the Maitraka period assumes added significance in the wake of the recent unsavory incidents of religious tentions in Gujarāt.

Besides this, an attempts has been made to interpret two hitherto unexplained technical terms, viz., *bitamāṇa* and *bhṛṣti*. The term *bitamāṇa* occurs in one of the land grant charters of Dharasena II (dated A.D. 571). It is stated that a plot of land was given along with *bitamāṇa*. Now, according to the *Sanskrit Hindi Kośa* by V.S. Āpte *biḍam* (बिड्म) means a type of salt while *biḍmāṇa* (बिड्माण) or *vitmāna* (विटमान) is a measurement for salt. Thus *bitamāṇa* was a salt measurement. It is not out of place here to mention that Gujarāt even at present produces over sixty percent of the total salt in India. This presupposes a flourishing salt industry under the Maitrakas. Again

the Anastu plates of king Śilāditya II (dated A.D. 676) mentions the donation of a *bhṛṣti* along with one field. The Kaira plates of Dharasena IV (dated A.D. 649) also mentioned a similar term, *bṛṣta* which is donated with a field of land. *Bṛṣt* (भ्रष्ट) in Sanskrit means depleted, lost or ruined and *bṛṣti*(भृष्टि, etymologically भृस्ज् + क्विन्) means a ruined park or garden. Thus the field mentioned in these grants were donated alongwith ruined orchards.

Lastly a part of is this study is devoted to updating the inscriptional data and geographical configuration of administrative division. A detailed tabulation of the epigraphical data is provided to form an idea about the information contained in the Maitraka land grant charters.

History should be a fair account of what has happened, not what should have happened. Slant towards a particular ideology will not only harm the psyche of the student, but also it whole cause. Thus any historical event or period should not overwhelm us, it should open our mind. This study is based on the old dictum that facts are sacred and only openion is free. The researcher has tried to make the details as accurate and authentic as possible in the light of the latest researches. And where no definite conclusion is possible, an attempt has been made to indicate the different view-points in a detached spirit. Further, the research has tried to move from content to concept.

What is urgently required now is a more extensive and systematic excavation of Gujarāt Kāthiāwāḍ, Kutch and adjoining areas, parts of Rājasthān, and ancient Valabhi, the Maitraka capital alongside some scientific explorations in the various river valleys of Gujarāt.

Any how, from whatever information we have of the Maitrakas, it can be safely suggested that in an era marred by the emergence of centrifugal forces, when any attempt at uniting the disjointed was construed as an act of national union, they provided political stability in Gujarāt. Their rule may not be utopian and their state not the cloud cocooland of our imaginations, but the Maitraka sway witnessed economic prosperity, social justice, administrative efficiency and cultural synthesis in tandem.

APPENDIX 'A'

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION FROM THE LAND GRANT CHARTERS OF THE MAITRAKAS (including Place-names)

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
1.	Bhamodra Mohota Plates of Dronasimha. G. 183. 'Sravana. Su. 15 = C.A.D. 502	*JBBRAS.* XX. 1897-98. pp. 1-6; *EI.* XVI. 1921-22. p. 17-19.	(P) Valabhi (F) Bhamodra in Bhāvnagar. Kāthiāwāḍ	Temple of Goddess. Paṇḍuraja	Āyuktaka. Viniyuktaka. Mahattara Drangika Adhikāraṇikas	Village Traisangamaka in HVA	*Brāhmadeya*	(i) Village Traisangamaka identified with Tarsamia. 3 miles S.E. of Bhāvnagar and about 4 miles NE of Hathab. (ii) Hastavapra (HVA) is identified with Hathab in Koliyat Taluka of Bhāvnagar territory. It is about 15 miles SE of Bhāvnagar. 6 miles South of Ghoga. 2 miles to the south of Koliyak. Located at 72° 16′ E and 70° 36′ N on the eastern coast o f the Peninsula.
2.	Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 206. Bhadrapada. Su. 5 = C.A.D. 525	*EI.* XXXIX. 1910. pp. 129-30; *EI.* XI. 1911-12. pp. 105-09.	(P) Valabhi (F) Pālitānā. Kātiāwāḍ.	Brahmanas Kumāraśarman and Jarbhajya of Śāṇḍilya *Gotra* and Chhandoga *Śākhā*. residents of Sainkar-Vataka.	-do-	(a) A field (140 *pada*) and a step-well (16 *pada*) in Madkana. HVA (b) A field (100 *pada*) and a step-well in Tinisaka (NE) in HVA (c) A field (140 *pada*) in Tapasiya in HVA	-do-	(i) Madkana is identified with the present Village Makharid near Talaja (based on phonetical grounds) (ii) Sankaravataka - it lay probably not far from present day Madkana.
3.	Cambay or the Kāthiāwāḍ Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv 206. Asvin. Su. 3 = C.A.D. 525	*EI.* XVII. 1923-24. pp. 109-10; *IE AR.* 1955-56. p. 17. No. 36. Appendix A	(P) – (F) Cambay. Bombay	Rotghamitra. resident of Siṁhapur	-do-	What was donated is not clear but it was situated in Maṇḍali in HVA.	–	(i) Mandali or Mandali-dranga in Saurāṣṭra. Dranga division was possibly a large town or a city including its suburbs. About 3 miles to the west of the village Lusdi. There is a place named Maṇḍal which possibly represents Maṇḍali. the headquarters of the sthali. (ii) Siṁhapur is identified with Sihor. 12 miles from Valā. It was the original capital of the Guhilots before Bhāvnagar was founded.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
4.	Motā Machiala Plates of Dhruvasena I. vs. 206. Asvin. Su. 5 = C.A.D. 525	*EI.* XXXI. 1955-56. pp. 299-301.	(P) – (F) Motā Machiala. Amreli district. Gujarāt	Brs. Gangā Śarman. Gangadeva. Chunuka of Śāṇḍilya *Gotra* and Vājasaneya *Śākhā*. residents of Kaśahrada	-do-	A field *Sitā* (100 *pāda*). Thuntakakolika[1]. in Suvarṇakiya-grāma (L) in Sinabaratāka-sthali	–	(i) Kaśatrad or Kaśahrada is on the Sābarmati river. approximately 12 miles away from Ahmedabad. and 15 miles from Kheḍa. (ii) Kaundinyapura is identified with Kuhdinapura. the place of residence of King Biśmaka. father of Rukmini. It is about a mile to the west of modern Kuliana. 32 miles west of Junāgaḍh and 25 miles to the east of Porbandar. It is o n the bank of the river Bhadera. (iii) Jninnapalli may be identified with Juni in Saurāṣtra. (iv) Lesrudka may be equated to Lusada. a station on Jāmnagar State Railway line.
5.	Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 207. VaiSakha. ba. 5 = C.A.D. 526	*EI.* XVII. 1923-24. pp. 105-108.	(P) Valabhi (F) Pālitānā	Br. Mādhava. Suṇaka *Gotra* and Chhandoga *Śākhā*. resident of Jyesthanaka	-do-	A field (160 *pāda*) in Jyesthānaka (W) in HVA	–	Identification unknown. Probably situated in Akśasāraka in HVA in Saurāṣtra.
6.	Gaṇeśhgaḍh Plates of Dhruvasena I Gv. 207. VaiSakha. ba. 15 = C.A.D. 526	*EI.* III. 1894-95. pp. 318-323	(P) Valabhi (F) Gaṇeśhgaḍh. Amreli. Gujarāt	Br. Dhammila of Darbha (G) and Vājasaneya (S). Resident of Hariyāṇka	-do-	(a) Four measures (*khanda*) of land - 300 *pāda* and a step-well (40 *pāda*) in Hariyāṇka (NW) (b) Four measures (*khanda*) of land - 300 *pāda* and a step well (20 *pāda*) in Hariyaṇka (NE)	*Bhūmichhidra Brāhmadeya*	-do-

[1] May be it belonged to some one called Hemtaka who came from the Kolika community.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
7.	Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 207. Kartika. Śu. 3 C.A.D. 526	*JOI*. XII. 1962. pp. 51-54	(P) Valabhi (F) Pālitānā	Brs., Mahilaka. Visvaka and Vadra of Bhāradvāja (G) and Vājasaneya (S)	-do-	Two fields (100 and 12 *pāda* each) in Akśaraka (SW). mandali in HVA	*Brāhmadeya*	–
8.	Bhāvnagar Plates of Dhruvasena I Gv. 207. Karttika. Śu. 7 = C.A.D. 526	*I.I.* V. 1876. pp. 204-7	(P) Valabhi (F) Bhāvnagar	Br. Sachitiśarman of Droṇayāna (G) and Attarvana (S). resident of HVA	-do-	A field and a well. a *kūpa* (100 *pāda*) in Kukkattagrāma in HVA	–	(i) Kukkata identified with Kukad near Tansa in Gogha *taluka* about 9 miles SW of Hathab. (ii) Vetapadra may be the present Velamedar. a village at a distance of 2 miles from Talaja and about 20 miles SW of Hathab.
9.	Ammalasā Plates of Dhruvasena I Gv. 208 –, = C.A.D. 527	*EIR*. 1979-80. p. 85f.	(P) – (F) Ammalasa. Junāgaḍh dist.	A Buddhist *Vihāra*	–	A village. Amalakavasati	–	–
10.	Bhāvnagar Plates of Dhruvaṣena I. Gv. 210. Śravana. ba. 13 C.A.D. 529	*EI*. XV. 1919-20. pp. 255-58.	(P) – (F) Bhāvnagar	Br. Nanna of Manava (G) and Chhandoga (S); resident of Valapadra	Same set of officials noted previously	(a) A field (50 *pāda*) in Chedakapadraka (E) in HVA (b) A well (16 *pāda*) in Mālavakā (E) in HVA	–	(i) Chedakapadraka probably in HVA - Identity unknown. (ii) Valapadra near Chhedakapadraka. It may be identified with Valavad. 2 miles west of Sihor.
11.	Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvaṣena I. Gv. 210. Śravana. Śu. 15 = C.A.D. 529.	*IA*. XXXIX. 1910. p. 130; *EI*. XI. 1911-12. pp. 109-112	(P) Valabhi (F) Pālitānā	Br. Viṣṇuśarman of Jabāla (G) and Vājasaneya (S). resident of Siṁhapur	-do-	(a) A field and a tank called Amrilika (12 *pāda*) in Bhallaragrāma (SW) in HVA. (b) A field (50*pāda*) in Vasukiya (N)	–	(i) Bhallara may be identified with Bhalar. 4 miles SW of Talaja about 18 miles from Hathab and only 1 mile north of Vilapadar. (ii) Natakaputra probably situated in HVA. identity not known. (iii) Siṁhapur - Same as mentioned in grant No. 3 (iv) Vāsukiya situated in Akśasaraka in HVA. Identity not known.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
12.	Iyaveja Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 210. Bhadrapada. ba. 9 C.A.D. 529	*EI.* XIX. 1927-28. pp. 125-27	(P) Valabhi (F) Iyaveja. Pālitānā. Kāthiāwāḍ	Brs. Śāntiśarman and Devaśarman of Atreya (G) and Vājasaneya (S). residents of Nagaraka.	-do-	(a) A field (100 *pāda*) in BhadrenıKagrama (SE) in Saurāṣtra to Śānti śarman. (b) A step well. *Vāpibhollara*[2] (12 *pāda*) and a field (100 *pāda*) in the same place as above to Deva-śarman	–	(i) Bhadrenika situated in HVA in the neighbourhood of a village called Samibāmbara. (ii) Natakaputra - same as in No. 11 (iii) Nagarakapathaka. the donee's residence was situated in HVA.
13.	PWMB Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 210. Bhadrapada. ba. 13 = C.A.D. 529	*JBBRAS* (NS) I. 1925. pp 65-66	(P) Valabhi (F) –	Brs. Bhaṭṭi and Guhabhaṭṭi of Bhārgava (G) and Bahvṛja (S). residents of HVA	-do-	A field (300 *pāda*) in Bhadrenika (SE) in HVA	–	Bhadrenika - Same as in grant No. 12
14.	Pālitānā Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 210. Asvin. ba. 5 = C.A.D. 529	*EI.* XXXIX. 1910. p. 130; *EI.* XI. 1911-12. pp. 112-14	(P) Valabhi (F) Palitana	Br. Skanda of Anpasvati (G) and Vājasaneya (S). resident of Akrolaka	-do-	A field (30 *pāda*) and a well (12 *pāda*) in the village Akrolaka.	–	(i) Akrolaka. the donee's residence may be identified with Aklera. at a distance of about 20 miles from Pālitānā. (ii) Vatagrama-Not yet identified.
15.	Valā Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 216. Magha. ba. 3 C.A.D. 535	*EI.* IV. 1875. pp. 104-7	(P) Camp at Khuddavediyagrama (F) Vala. Kathiawad	A Buddhist *vihāra* at Valabhi built by Dudda. donor's sister's daughter	-do-	A village Pippalarunkhari in Anumanji (W)	Collect what grows in the donated village.	(i) Anumanji may be identified with modern Amreli (ii) Khuddavediya may have been situated in the vicinity of Anumanjari near Amreli. (iii) Natakaputra - same as in grant nos. 11. 12 (iv) Pippalarunkhari - possibly the same as Pipalia about 14 miles (SW) of Amreli.
16.	British Museum Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 217. Asvin. ba. 13 = C.A.D. 536	*JRAS.* I 1895. pp. 379-84	(P) Presumably a camp at Khuddavediyagrama	A Buddhist *vihāra* at Valabhi built by Ācārya Bhadanta Buddhadasa.	–	A village Vātaprajaka near Sthala	-do-	Khuddavediya - same as in grant no. 15

[2] Probably an unused well filled with earth.

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17.	Dhunda Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 217 = C.A.D. 536	*I.H.R.* 1971-72. p. 53	(P) Kasalakiya-grahāra (F) Dhunda, Khanpur Dist., Rājkot.	Br. Kumāra of Bhaguri (G) and Maitrāyaniya (S), resident of Puṣhyatari in Kaccha viśaya.	–	A village, Rājya-Mitranakapadra in Dantiviśaya	*Brahmadeya*	(i) Both Kasalkiyagrahāra and Rājya – Mitrankapadra are unidentified. (ii) Valaprajyaka, according to the grant records was near a well known place, the name of which cannot be deciphered.
18.	Valabhi Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. Between 206-217. i.e. A.D. 528-539.	*E.I.* XIX. 1927-28. pp. 302-4; *IE.IR.* 1955-56, p. 17, No. 35, Apx. A.	(P) Valabhi (F) –	Brs. Visradatta and Vasudatta of Bhārdvāja (G).	Same list of officials noted previously	A village, Kalahataka in HVA	–	Kālahataka is identified with Kaliyak near Hathab. Its local variant form is Koliyat or Koliyad.
19.	Vavadiā Jogiā plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 221. Asvin. ba. 1 = C.A.D. 540	*IOI.* VII. 1893. pp. 295-301	(P) Valabhi (F) Vavadi Jogiā, Junāgaḍh.	Brs. Skandatrata and Guhātrata of Bhārdvāja (G) and Chhandoga (S), residents of Ānandapura.	-do-	(a) A field (700 *pāda*) in Samihambara (SE) at the boundary of Bhadranaka (b) A field (100 *pāda*) and 5 step wells.	–	(i) Ānandapura identified with the present Vādnagar. (ii) Bhadrenika – same as in grant nos. 12 and 13. (iii) Samihambara may be identified with Samadhiala, at a distance of about 10 miles of Aiavej. (iv) Sarasnativātikā village though unidentified, is mentioned along with village Samihambara.
20.	Valā Museum Plates of Dhruvasena I. Gv. 226 or, 228. Karttika. Su. 15 C.A.D. 545 or 547	*JBBRAS* (NS).I. 1925. pp 16-19	(P) Valabhi (F) Valā	Br. (name lost), resident of Anāntapura	-	A field in Sopokendraka-maṇḍali	-	Annata probably near Unata, 50 miles from Maliya.
21.	Valā Museum Plates of Dhruvasena I. (undated)	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. pp. 20-21						
22.	Bhāvnagar Copper Plate of Dhruvasena I (undated)	*IE.IR.* 1965-66. No. 4. p. 28	(P) Valabhi (F) -	–	–	–	–	-
23.	Maitraka Copper Plate of Guhasena. Gv. 240. Śravana. Su – =. C.A.D. 559	*I.I.* VII. 1878. pp 66-68	(P) (F) -	A Buddhist *vihāra* built by Dudda at Valabhi		A village (Name lost)		Umatta near Verāval in the vicinity of Dombhigrama or Maliya. It may be identified with Una near Dilonadar.

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24.	Valā Plates of Guhasena. Gv. 246. magha. ba. . C.A.D. 565	*I.I.* IV. 1875. pp. 174-76; *EI.* XIII. 1915-16. p. 239	(P) – (F) Valā. Kāthiāwāḍ	-do-	–	(a) A village. Samipadravataka near Anumanji and Pittalarurunklari (b) A village. Sangamanaka in Mandalidranga (c) A village Nadiya in Khetaka - āhāra (d) A village in Chossari in Khetaka-āhāra	Revenue in dry and green (produce) corn and gold. and with the right to forced labour arising (therefrom). according to analogy of the familiar instance of the ground and cleft- *Bhūmichhidra*	(i) Anumanji-modern Amreli (ii) Bramhapara - not far from Vajjadi near Dongar. (iii) Chossari may be identified with Chosar. 3 miles from Barijadi. (iv) Naddiya may be identified with Nandaj. half a mile distant from Barjadi (v) Pippalarunkhari- same as in grant no. 15 (vi) Sangamanaka-unidentified.
25	Bhāvnagar Plates of Guhasena. Gv. 248. Asvin. ba. 10 = C.A.D. 567	*I.I.* V. 1876. pp. 206-7	(P) – (F) Bhāvnagar	A Buddhist *vihāra* Abhantarika. built by Mimma near Bhatārka *vihāra*	–	–	Income (*āya*) (to be paid) by *Kutumbi* Syamanera. the herdsman Chendāvaka. and the *dasaka* Astra.	Bhattarāka could be the same as the village Bhotad. the only village near Udavi.
26.	Jhār Plates of Dharasena II. Vs. 252. Chaitra. ba. 5 C.A.D. 571	*BPSI.* pp. 31 ff; *I.I.* XV. 1886. p. 187; *JBORI.* IV. 1923. pp. 33-37	(P) Valabhi (F) Jhār. Amreli dist., Kāthiāwāḍ	Br. Chhachhara of Bhārgava (G) and Maitrayāna (S). resident of Bhramapura	–	(a) A village. Petavata in Dipanakapetha in Vilvakhabhasthali . (b) A field (100 *pāda*) in Vilvakhabha (N) (c) A step well (25 *pāda*) in Vilvakhabha (NE) (d) A field (160 *pāda*) in Vellapadrakagram -a in Jhāristhali (E) (e) A field (25 *pāda*) in Vellapadrakagram -a in Jhāristhali (S)	–	(i) Bhatārkabheda was the northern boundary of the field granted in Vilvakhabha (NE) (ii) Bilvakhakha is mentioned along with Jhāri Sthali. It may be the place called Bilvakha. 32 miles west of Jhār. (iii) Dadhikupakasiṁha may be identified with the village of Dadhia. 4 miles to the east of Bhamar. (iv) Jhār. the headquarters of Jhāristhali may be this place. (v) Velapadrakagrāma may be the same as Velivadar in Kāthiāwāḍ. It was to the west of Dadhikupaka.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
27	India Office London. Plates of Dharasena II. Vs 252. Chaitra. ba. 5 = C.A.D. 571	*BPSI* pp 30 ff *IHQ*. 1952-53. p. 82. No. 569. Appx. B		Brahmaćārin Chachchara of Bhārgava (G). resident of Brahmaputra		Land in Pethavata (details not available)		Kanakasomaka near the river Vāsukiya. as was the village Karṇasomagrāma
28.	Bhadva Plates of Dharasena II. Vs. 252. VaiSakha. ba. 15= C.A.D. 571	*IHQ*. 1959-60. p. 41. No. 45. Appx. A: *ABI*. IV. 1923. pp. 34-41	(P) Valabhi (F) Bhadva. Kathiawad	Br. Rudragopa of Kausravasa (G) and Atharvana (S). resident of Anantapura	–	A village. Isikanaka in Ambarenusthali	–	(i) Bhramarakulya near Velapadraka. identified with Bhamar. 1 mile NW of Ujpadi. a station on the side of Mahuva along Bhāvnagar state railway line. (ii) Loharapadraka situated in Kalapakapathaka to the south of Jambuvanara. (iii) Ambarenusthali - Diskalkar has identified it with Amrana (Philologically). about 20 miles to the NE of Dhrol. However. it is more probable that it was Ambardi on the Phophal river which is about 14 miles NW of Virapura.
29.	Pālitānā Plates of Dharasena II. Vs. 252. VaiSakha. ba. 15 = C.A.D. 571	*EI*. XXXIX. 1910. p. 130; *EI*. XI. 1911-12. pp. 80-85	(P) Valabhi (F) Palitana	Br. Rogha or Syena of Kauśika (G) and Vājisaneya (S)		(a) A field (180 *pāda*) in Natyotaka-grāma in Jambuvanakasthali (NE) (b) A field (120 *pāda*) in Akalikagrāma (c) A step well (32 *pāda*) in Akali-grāma (NW) (d) A field (130 *pāda*) in Devaraksita-pathaka in Nimbakūpasthali. (e) A field (100 *pada*) in Chitrakasthala in Kadambapadraka (N) (f) A step well Avatāra in Kadamba-padraka (E)	-	(i) Akalika - not identified (ii) Chitrakasthala- situated in Kadambapadra sthali in Saurāṣtra. Exact location not known. (iii) Devaraksita is situated in Nimbakapa-sthali in Saurāṣtra. Exact location not known. (iv) Jambuvānara is situated at a distance of about 2 miles from Pālitānā. Modern name Jamvalia. (v) Kadambapadra was the headquarters of the sthali of the same name in Saurāṣtra.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
30	Maliya Plates of Dharasena II, Vs. 252, VaiŚakha, ba. 15 C.A.D. 571	*I.A.* XIII, 1884, pp 160-62; *CII*, III, 1888, p. 165 ff.	(P) Valabhi (F) Maliya, Junāgadh	Br Rudrabhutti of Vatsa (G) and Vājisaneya (S), resident of Unnata	Same list of Officials as noted above	Lands (fields) in Śivakapadraka in Antaratra, Dombhigrāma, Vajragrāma and Bhumbhusapadraka		(i) Antaratra as understood by its name, may be taken to mean a region between two rivers. It may have been near Maliya (ii) Bhumbhusa-unidentified (iii) Dombhigrāma may be the same as a village called Dabhodar, 3 miles NE of Verāval. (iv) Śivakapadraka and Vajragrāma in Antaratra-unidentified.
31.	Sorath Plates of Dharasena II, Vs. 252, VaiŚakha, ba. 15 C.A.D. 571	*I.A.* VIII, 1878, pp. 68-70	(P) Valabhi (F) Sorath, Junāgadh	Brs. Dusa and Sasthi of Śāndilya (G) and Chhandoga (S)	–	(a) A field of (200 *pāda*) and a step well in Suryadesagrāma (b) A field (220 *pāda*) in Jotipatrakagrāma (c) A field (35 *pāda*) in Desarudaka.	–	(i) Jotipadrakagrāma probably the same as the present Jodia near Jamkhambhalia. (ii) Suryadesa may be identified with Surjiali or Surya - palli). The place is at a distance of 2 miles to Timbadi, the find spot.
32.	Bombay Asiatic Society Plates of Dharasena II, Vs. 252, VaiŚakha, ba 15 C.A.D 571	*I.A.* VIII, 1879, pp. 301-305	(P) Valabhi (F)	Brs. Ludra and Dasila of Karadi and Alambaya (G) respectively and Bhavṛcha (S)	Same list of officials as above	(a) A field (50 *pāda*) in Madasaras (b) A field (60 *pāda*) in Viraputra (c) A field (50 *pāda*) in Prihaputra (d) A field (80 *pāda*) in the same place	–	Viraputra located near Madsar
33	Katapur Plates of Dharasena II, Vs 252, VaiŚakha, ba. 15 C.A.D. 571	*BPSI*, pp 35 ff., *II IR*, 1959-60, p 38, NO. 32, Appx A	(P) A Camp at Bhadrapatanaka (F) Katapur, Bhāvnagar	Brs ViŚakha and Bappā of Kaśyapa (G) and Chhandoga (S)	-do-	(a) A field (60 *pāda*) in Vatapalikasthali		Dhamaripathaka situated in Vatapallika in Saurāṣtra. Exact location not known.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
34.	New Delhi Plates* of Dharasena II. Vs. 252. Vaiśakha. ba. 15 = C.A.D. 571	*EI.* XXXVII 1967 pp. 170 ff.	(P) Valabhi (F) -	Br. Puvanaga of Kauśika (G) and Maitrayāna (S)	-do-	(a) A field (90 *pāda*) alongwith a *bitamāṇa*[3] (b) Field (40 *pāda*) . (c) Tank –. (d) Well (12 *pāda*) –. (e) Field (14 *pāda*) (f) Field (30 *pāda*)	All income from *Viṣṭi. Brāhmadeya*	Bhandavataka grama: Bharivikan dapadraka: Chacheharaka in Madasarasthali: Pitikakśhetram in Bhandavatakgrāma - all unidentified.
35.	Bantia Plates of Dharasena II. Vs. 254. Vaiśakha. ba. 15. *Suryoparaga*[4]. = C.A.D. 573	*JBBRAS* (NS). III. 1927. pp. 184-85: *EI.* XXI. 1931-32. pp. 179 ff.	(P) Valabhi (F) Bantia. Bantwa taluka. Kāthiāwāḍ	Br. Devadatta of Sāndilya (G) and Maitrayāna (S)	-do-	A village. Bhaṭārkapadra in Kaundinyapuraviśya in Saurāṣtra	-do-	(i) Bhaṭārkapadra - It is quite likely that Bhantia itself may have been the ancient site of Bhaṭṭārka suggested by the philosophical affinity between the two names (ii) Kaundinyapura - same as in grant No. 4.

* Note : These plates are in the possession of a Delhi firm. Mohenjodaro

[3] The term occurs in this grant only. It is mentioned that a plot of land was donated along with *Bitamāṇa*. According to the *Sanskrit Hindi Kosa* by Vaman Sivarama Apte (Motilal Banarsidass. 1966). *Biḍam* (बिड़म) is a type of Salt and *Biḍamāṇa* (*बिड़माण*) or *Vitamāṇ* (बिटमाण) is a measurement of (for) Salt. P. 716. It is not out of place here to mention that even presently Gujarāt produces over sixty per cent of the total Salt in India. The use of the term *Bitamāṇa* in the land grant presupposes a flourishing Salt Industry under the Maitrakas.

[4] This grants records probably the earliest mention of a solar eclipse in epigraphical evidence. According to L.D.S. Pillai, *'Indian Ephemeris'*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 220 f, there was a solar eclipse in the month of *Chaitra*, i.e., *Vaiśakha* according to the *Purṇimanta* calculation, on March 19, 573 A.D., which may be taken as the correct date of this grant.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
36	Valā Plates of Dharasena II. Vs. 269. Chaitra. ba. 2 C.A.D. 588	*I.I.* VI. 1877 pp. 9-12	(P) Camp at Bhadrapatānaka (F) Valā	A Buddhist *vihāra* Bappāpadiya. built by Sthirmati at Valabhi	-do-	(a) A village. Maheśvaradasenaka in HVA (b) A village. Devabhadripallika in Dharakheta Sthali		(i) Bhadrapatānaka was a military camp. which was situated near Mahuva and Talaja. It can be identified with Bhabod. 4 miles NE of Mahuva and 20 miles from Talaja. (ii) Devabhadripallika may be the same as Devali. 6 miles from Valā. (iii) Dharakhetaka - its headquarters may be identified with Dhinuka. a village 6 miles NW of Songadh. a station on the Bhāvnagar state Railway line. (iv) Maheśvaradasenaka has been identified with Mahādevapur which is near Sihor. It is 14 miles from Valā and about 21 miles from Hathab.
37.	PWMB Plates of Dharasena II. Vs. 270. Magha. Su. 10 C.A.D. 589	*JBBRAS* (NS) I. 1925. pp. 66-69.	–	A Buddhist. *vihāra* built by Kākkā Manikila at Valabhi	-	A village. Uttapataka near Suddattabhatarka in Saurāṣtra	–	Uttapataka was near Bhatarka and it may be identified with Udavi. which is 7 miles from Bhāvnagar and 13 miles from Valā.
38.	Alina Plates of Dharasena II. Vs. 270. Phālguna. ba. 10 C.A.D. 589	*I.I.* VII. 1878. pp. 70-73	(P) A camp at Bhadrapatānaka (F) Alina. Kaira. Gujarāt	Br. Viṣṇumitra of Śārkāraksi (G) and Bahvṛch (S). resident of Khetaka -āhāra	–	A village. Asilaspallika in Bandarijjidri pathaka in Khetāka-āhāra-Viśaya	–	(i) Asilapallika–identified with Asmal also known as Asapalli. near Ahmedabad. (ii) Bandarijidri- the headquarters has been identified with Barijadi. a station between Ahmedabad and Memadabal. It is 10 miles to the north of Khetaka. (iii) Bhadrapatānka - same as in grant No. 36. (iv) Khetaka - ahara - the headquarters of the visya. identified with Kheda (Khaira district).

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
39	Watson Museum Plates of Dharasena II. Vs. 270. Bhadrapada. ba. 2 C.A.D. 589	*IHQ.* XV. 1939. pp 281-87	(P) Camp at Bhadrapatānaka (F) -	Br Amaraśarman and Anuhaśarman of Gahunayana (G) and Bahvṛch (S)	Same list of officials as mentioned above	A village Thanaka in Thanakasthala		(i) Bhadrapatāṅka - same as in grant no. 36 and 38. (ii) Chhadakapadraka lies 9 miles from the Sedevadar. it may have been the same as Chhedakapadraka. (iii) Thānaka was on the Paprimati river and has been identified with Thān. a station on the Morbi Railway.
40.	Valā First Plate Grant of Dharasena II. (undated)	*JBBRAS* (NS) . I. 1925. pp. 24-26	(P) Valabhi (F) Valā	–	–	–	–	Sargapuri- it was near Navalakhi (near Vanthali)
41.	Pithadia Museum Grant[5] of Dharasena II. (undated)	*JUB.* IV. 1935-36. pt. I. pp. 1-5	(P) Valabhi (F) -	–	–	–	–	–
42.	Valā Plates of Dharasena II. (undated)	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. pp. 21-24	(P) Illegible (F) Valā	A Buddhist *vihāra* at Valabhi	Same list of officials as mentioned above	A field in Hariyāṇika	–	Hariyāṇika – as in grant no. 6
43.	Valā Plates of Śīlāditya I. Vs. 286. VaiSakha. ba. 6 C.A.D. 605	*I.I.* I. 1872. p. 46	–	A Budhist *vihāra*	-	(a) A field in Raksraputra? (b) A field in Udrapadraka	-	-
44.	Valā Plates of Śīlāditya I. Vs. 286. Jyeṣtha. ba. 6 C.A.D. 605	*JBBRAS* (NS). XI. 1875. pp. 359 ff. *I.I.* XIV. 1885. pp. 329 f.	(P) Valabhi (F) Valā	A Buddhist *vihāra* built by Dudda at Valabhi	-	(a) Two fields in Uchhapadraka in Punyanakastahli (b) Two step wells in Kākkijja (c) A field in Indranipadraka (d) Four gardens along with wells in Valabhi	-	(i) Indranipadraka situated in Punusthai - location not known (ii) Kākkijja - unidentified (iii) Uchchhapadraka unidentified

[5] This Maitraka grant is in very fragmentary state. The date is not legible.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
45	Navalakhi Plates of Śīlāditya I. Vs. 286. Āsādh. ba. 8 = C.A.D. 605	*IA.* XI. 1911-12. pp. 174 ff	(P) Valabhi (F) Navalakhi. Junāgadh	Forty-four *hes* Of various (G) and (S). residents of Sangapuri	Same list of officials as mentioned previously	A village Bhondanaka in Vatanagarsthali	*Brāhmadeya*	(i) Bhondanaka situated in Vātanagara (ii) Dahaka may be identified with Dhaka. 13 miles SW of Lunavada (iii) Vātanagara probably to be identified with modern Vādnagar (Vadadar). 10 miles to the north of Vanthali.
46.	Valā Second Plate Inscription of Śīlāditya I. Vs. 286. Śrāvaṇa. ba. 7 = C.A.D. 605	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. pp. 26-28	–	A Buddhist *vihāra* at Vaṁśakata built by Śīlāditya I himself	The people and officials	A village in Kalapakapathaka	–	(i) Cottiyanaka may be identified with Chotika. the terminus of the Thawchotika branch (ii) Kalapaka - the headquarters of this pathaka has been identified with Katawad. It is 26 miles SE of Navanagar (iii) Vamsakatta probably situated next to Talaja - the site of Vansakata.
47.	Valā Grant of Śīlāditya I. Vs. 287. Karttika. ba. 7 C.A.D. 606	*JUB.* III. 1934-35. pt. 1. pp. 80-82; *IHQ.* 1959-60. p. 39. No. 37. Appx. A	(P) Valabhi (F) -	Yakśasura *vihāra* at Valabhi	..	A village. Nigguda in Gihasarakapathaka	–	(i) Gihasaraka - the headquarters of this pathaka may be identified with Gihasari. 5 miles SW of Kesad. (ii) Goffaranataka situated in Baravana in Saurāṣtra. (iii) Nigguda may be identified with a village called Nagadia about 10 miles NE of Kisod.
48.	Valā Museum Plates of Śīlāditya I. Vs. 287. Margasira. ba. 7 = C.A.D. 606	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. pp. 28-31	(P) Valabhi (F) Valā	Br. Bhaṭṭi of Bhārdavāja (G) and Chhandoga (S). resident of Anārttapura-settled in Valabhi	–	A field (120 *pāda*) and a step well (16 *pāda*) in Kalasamaka	–	(i) Anārttapura located in the Dhulia dist. Of Mahārāṣhtra. (ii) Cottiyanaka – as in grant 46 (iii) Kalasamaka – probably the modern katasara (iv) Tramadia near Anumanji in Amreli. May be the same as Travada. 10 miles SW of Amreli. (v) Tranonadi is situated in Anumanjisthali.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
49	Valā Copper - Plate Grant of Śilāditya I. Vs. 290. Bhadrapada. ba. 7 C.A.D. 609	*JCB.* III. 1931-35. pp. 82-85; *IE..IR.* 1959-60. p. 40. No. 39. Appx. A	(P) Bhadreśvara outside the gate of Valabhi (F)	A Buddhist *vihāra* built by Rakśasura at Valabhi		A village. Amadasaputra near Vatalara in Ghasarakapathaka		(i) Amadasaputra situated near Jyeśthanaka. Hariyāṇaka and Vāsukiya. (ii) Ghasaraka as in grant No 47. (iii) Vatalara - probably the same as the place called Vādadar. 3 miles NE of kisod.
50.	Dhank Plates of Śilāditya I. Vs. 290. Bhadrapada. ba. 8 = C.A.D. 609	*I.I.* IX. 1880. pp. 238 ff.	(P)Homba outside the gate of Valabhi (F) Dhank	A Temple of Śiva (Mahādeva) built by Harinatha at Vātapadra	Same list of officials as mentioned previously	Two fields (150 and 120 *pada*) and a step-well. *yamalavāpi.* (25 *pada*) in Vatapadra	-	(i) Bramilanaka was sitauted in the east of Velapadra. (ii) Dinnanakagrāma located in the vicinity of Upleta near Dhanak. Probably the samea s the present Daduka. 11 miles SE of Uplet. (iii) Vātapadra- same as in grant 16.
51.	Valā Copper Plates of Śilāditya I. Vs. 290. Bhadrapada. Su. 10 = C.A.D. 609	*JCB.* III. 1934-35. Pt. I. pp.85-87; *IE..IR.* 1959-60. p. 39. NO. 38. Appx. A	-	Brs.	-	A village. Danturaputra i n Mandalidranga	-	(i) Danturaputra identified with Dabhala. a place 24 miles away from Amreli. (ii) Maṇḍali - Same as in grant No. 3 (iii) Udumbara - unidentified - Four brahmanas are mentioned as emigrants from this place.
52.	Maitraka Copper Plates of Śilāditya I Vs. 290 - (unidentified)	*IAR.* 1979-80. p. 85f.	-	A Buddhist *vihāra* built by Yaśonandi in Kubernāgara-viśaya	-	A village Mada [ya] ntika in Kuberangara viśaya	-	(i) Dhammanahaddika is identified with Dhammad. Another suggestion for the identification of this place is Dhamnar. 11 miles SE of Mandasor. does not seem to be correct. cf. Virji. p. 299. (ii) Kuberanagara - unidentified (iii) Udumbara Same as in Grant No. 51.
53.	Bhadreniyaka Plates of Śilāditya I. Vs. 292. Chaitra. Su. 14 = C.A.D. 611	*EI.* XXI. 1931-32. pp. 116-119	(P) Camp at Devisaras (F) -	A Surya temple in Bhadrenika	-	A field (200 *pāda*) in Baravanasthali	-	(i) Bhadrenika - situated in Baravanasthali in Saurāstra. (ii) Gopparavataka - unidentified

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54	Valā Plates of Śilāditya I. – , ba. 7 (undated)	*JBBRAS* (NS) I 1925, pp. 31-35	(P) (F) Valā	A Buddhist *vihāra* at Vansakata, built by Śilāditya I		Two villages one of which was Vyaghradinnanaka in the Sarakapathaka		(i) Akśaraka near Jveṣṭhanaka Hariyāṇaka and Vāsukiya (ii) Vansakatta - Same as in grant No. 46 (iii) Vijaghradinanaka situated in Ghasaraka pathaka in Saurāṣtra
55.	First Plate of a Valabhi grant of Śilāditya I. (undated)	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925, pp. 43-44	(P) Valabhi (F) –	–	–	–	–	–
56.	Virdi Copper Plates of Kharagraha I, Vs. 279. VaiŚakha. Su. 12 = C.A.D. 616	*PTOC* (or *PTOC*) VIII. 1933, pp. 659-676	(P) Ujjayani (F) Virdi, Khātiāwāḍ	Br. Bhava, resident of Chinchanaka, of Bhaguri (G) and Maitrayana (S)	–	(a) *Vāpi*, Chinchanaka (12 *pāda*) in Mandalidranga (b) A Field (38 *pāda*) in Anumanjsthali	–	(i) Anumanji - same as in grant No. 15, 24 (ii) Chinchanaka situated to the south of Lustua which is identified with Lusdi (about two miles north) near Maṇḍali.
57.	Amreli Plate Inscription of Kharagraha I, Vs. 279. Śrāvaṇa. Su. 10 = C.A.D. 616	*IHQ*. 1959-60. p. 34	(P) Valabhi (F) Amreli, Kāthiāwāḍ	Br. Gujta of Kaundinya (G) and Vājisaneya (S), resident of Tramati	–	A *vāpi* in Dambharapadraka in Anumanjisthali	–	(i) Anumanji - same as in grant No. 15, 24 and 56 (ii) Dambharapadraka identified with Dabhala, a place 24 miles away from Amreli (the find spot of the grant)
58.	Bhāvnagar Plate of Dharasena III, Vs. 304. Māgha. Su. 7 = C.A.D. 623	*EI*. XXI. 1931-32, pp. 179 ff; *JBBRAS*. (NS). III. 1927, pp. 185-186.	(P) Military Camp at Khetaka (F) Bhāvnagar	Br. Mitrayasasu of Atreya (G) and Atharvana (S), resident of HVA	–	(a) A field (100 *pāda*) in Amakarakupa in HVA (b) Two plots of land in Dabhaka in Kalapaka (c) Step well (18 *pāda*) in Dabhaka (d) Field in Hastihrdakagrāma in Siravatakasthali	–	(i) Amakarakupa in HVA-unidentified. (ii) Dabhaka - exact location not known. (iii) Hastihradaka was the headquarters of the Siravataka sthali. (iv) Kalapaka - same as in grant No. 46. (v) Khetaka-āhāra – same as mentioned in grant No. 38 (vi) Puraṇaka was situated in Kalapakapathaka in Saurāṣtra
59.	Gopnāth First Plate Grant of Dharasena III, (undated)	*IA*. XII. 1883, pp. 148ff.	(P) Valabhi (F) Gopnāth, Kāthiāwāḍ	–	–	(e)	–	Pulindaka situated in Mālavakā. It was to the north of Navagrāma. Identified with Palduna, 2 miles NW of Barodā.

	Dates		& Find Spot (F)				Granted	
60.	Botad Plates of Dhruvasena II. Vs. 310. Aśvin. ba. 15 C.A.D. 629	*I.I.* VI. 1877. pp. 13-16	(P) Valabhi (F) Botad	A *vihāra* built by Gohaka at Valabhi	-	A village Bhasanta in Kalapathaka in Samāsta	-	(i) Bhasanta in Kalapaka pathaka is identified with Bhasana. 16 miles east of Junāgadh. (ii) Bhumida in Vātapalli identified with Goraksa - to the SW of Mahuva. (iii) Ludha - the name of the sthali is not deciphered. But from its description in the grant the place could be equated to Ludha.
61.	PWMB Plates of Dhruvasena II. Vs. 312. Jyeśtha. Su.4 C.A.D. 631	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. pp. 67-70	(P) Valabhi (F) –	Br.Matrakala of Bhāradvāja (G) and Chhandoga (S). resident of Khetaka	-	A field. Sarsakedar in Hastikapallika in Konakapathaka in Khetakāhāra - visaya	Permanent Grant	(i) Bhatharanaka lay to the SW of Pahmavatika in the Kalapaka pathaka. (ii) Devakula lay to the west of Pahmavatika and this place was probably the present Devalia. 14 miles to the east of Dhol and 8 miles to the west of Tankara. (iii) Hastikapallika may be the same as Hathnoli which is 4 miles to the north of Kuna. (iv) Kolamba/Konakapathaka - the headquarters of this pathaka may be identified with Kuna which lies 6 miles to the NE of Ahmedabad.
62.	Goras Plates of Dhruvasena II. Vs. 313. Śrāvana. Su. 14 = C.A.D. 632	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. pp. 50-57	(P) Valabhi (F) Goras. Bhāvnagar	Brs. Devakula and Bhada of Kapiśthala (G) and Chhandoga (S)	All the people and officials mentioned above	Two fields of 100 *pāda* each in Bahumula in Vatapallikasthali	*Brāhmadeya*	(i) Anjanaka is identified with Aiyana. 10 miles north of Nogwa. (ii) Bahumūla - exact location not known.
63.	Valā Plates of Dhruvasena II. Vs. 319. Jyeśtha. Su. 7 C.A.D. 638	*JUB.* III. 1934-35. pt. I. pp. 88-91	(P) Valabhi (F) –	A Buddhist *vihāra* built by Purnnabhatta at Valabhi	-	A village. Nagadinnanaka in Rohanakapathaka	–	Rohanaka may be identified either with Rohani. 21 miles south of Dholaka. and 11 miles NW of Cambay or with the village Rohisala. which is 16 miles SE of Botal and less than 10 miles from Vala. However. as the grant was made to the *vihāra* in Valabhi itself. the latter identification appears to be more appropriate.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
64.	Bhamodra - Mohata Plates of Dhruvasena II, Vs. 320, Āṣāḍh. Su. 1 C.A.D. 639	*JBBRAS*, XX, 1897-98, pp. 6-10	(P) Valabhi (F) Bhamodra, Bhāvnagar	A temple of the Goddess Kottanmabikā situated at Trisangamaka	All the people and officials mentioned above	(a) *Gūda* in Trisangamaka (b) One *Rupakā* i.e., gold coin every day	-	(i) Pattānaka lay to the NW of Sarkarapadraka (ii) Trisanghamaka - same as mentioned in grant No. 1
65.	Nogwā Plates of Dhruvasena II, Vs. 320, Bhadrapada, ba. 5 C.A.D. 639	*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 188ff.	(P) Valabhi (F) Nogwā, Ratlām	Brs. Agnisvāmin and Sangaravi, residents of Agastikagrahār-a and Ayanakagrahār-a respectively.	-do-	1 field (100 *bhakti*)[6] in Navagramaka in Uchhamanabhukti in Mālavakā	*Udranga, uparikara, bhūtavātapratyaya, visti* and *dasaparādha*	(i) Agastikagrahāra situated in the vicinity of Ayanaka, may be identified with Agesthi, 4 miles north of Nogwā (ii) Ayanaka - in the vicinity of Agastika, may be identified with Aigon, 10 miles north of Nogwā (Ratlām) (iiii) Gahvara - 4 brahmanas are mentioned as emigrants from this place (iv) Navagramaka is identified with Nogwā.
66.	Nogwā Plates of Dhruvasena II, Vs. 321, Chaitra, ba. 3 C.A.D. 640	*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 196 ff; *ASI.AR*, 1902-3, pt. 2, pp. 325ff.	(P) Camp at Vanditapalli (F) Nogwā	Brs. Dattasvāmin and Kumarasvāmin, of Pārāśara (G) and Vājisaneya (S) and residents of Ayanaka and Agastikagrahāra respectively.	-do-	A field (100 *bhakti*) in Chandraputrakagrāma in Uchchmana - viśaya in Mālavakā	-do-	(i) Agastikagrahāra - as in grant No. 65 (ii) Ayanaka - as in grant No. 65 (iii) Chandraputrakagrāma is identified with Chandodia, 2 miles south of Nogwā. (iv) Gahvara as in grant No. 65 (v) Vanditapalli may have been near Nogwa. (vi) Varohataka was to the east of Navagrama.

[6] Unit of measuring in Mālwā

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
67.	Malila Plates of Dhruvasena II. Vs. 323, Āśādha. Su. 5 = C.A.D. 642	*EI.* XXXV, 1964, pp. 281-86	(P) Valabhi (F) Malila, Amreli dist.	Br. Somaśarman of Doksta (G) and Vājasaneya (S), resident of Valabhi	-do-	A plot of land (150 *pāda*) in the village, Machchhotikā in Uttinatijasthali in Saurāṣtra	-do- (Permanent Grant)	(i) Kasakgrāma situated in Sopakendra Mandalisthali in Saurāṣtra (ii) Konatapadraka situated in the vicinity of Madsar. (iii) Machchhotika may be in the Amreli region. (iv) Mahichhaka lay near Kapadavanj. (v) Roksasaka may be identified with Rādhu, a village 7 miles SW of Kheḍa, and 14 miles from Kasandra.
68.	Bhāvnagar Plates of Dharasena IV, Vs. 326, Māgha, ba. 5 = C.A.D. 645	*I.A.* I. 1872, p. 45	(P) – (F) Bhāvnagar	A Buddhist *vihāra* built by Skandabhuta at Yodhavaka in HVA	–	A village, Yodhāvaka in HVA	–	(i) Pahamavatika may be the modern Bamagandi which is in the vicinity of Devali. (ii) Yodhāvaka is situated in Akśasaraka in HVA in Saurāṣtra.
69.	Valabhi Plates of Dharasena IV, Vs. 326, Āśādha. Śu. 10 = C.A.D. 645	*I.A.* I. 1872, pp.141ff; *JBBRAS*, XX, pp. 66-80	(P) Valabhi (F) –	Brs. Arjuna and Mankasvamin of Bhārdvāja (G) and Chhandoga (S), residents of Kikkataputra	–	(a) Three fields (56, 28 and 14 *pāda*), respectively in Sarkarapadraka in Kalapakapathaka in Saurāṣtra. (b) Six pattakas (6 *pāda*) in same place as above	–	(i) Kalapaka - same as in grant Nos. 46, 58. (ii) Kikkataputra may be identified with Kotariya, which is at a distance of less than 8 miles to the north of Padana. (iii) Kukkuranaka - a *vihāra* was situated at this place, may be identified with Kakolia, about 2 miles to the SW of Sihor and 13 miles from Valā.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
70.	Alina Plates of Dharasena IV. Vs. 330. Margasira. Su. 3 C.A.D. 649	*I.I.* VII. 1878. pp. 73-75	(P) Camp at Bharukachha (F) Alina. Kaira	Br. Nārāyaṇamitra of Śarkarasi (G) and Bhavṭch (S). resident of Kasāra.	-	A village. Desuraksitijja in Simhapallikapathaka in Khetakāhāra	-	(i) Bharukachchha was one of the three visayas of southern Gujarāt. Its present name is Broach. (ii) Dasara- A village 30 miles from Kasara. (iii) Desuraksitijja - identified with Desar. 8 miles SE of Thasara and 17 miles from Alina. (iv) Girinagar - traceable in modern Girnār. name of a hill near Junāgaḍh. In ancient period the place was the metropolis of the province of Saurāṣtra. (v) Mulavarmana pathaka located to the NE of Desasnaka (vi) Puśyasambapura - unidentified (vii) Samapadravitaka was in the vicinity of Pippalarunkhari (viii) Sibamunijja – identified with Sihunj.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
71.	Kaira Plates of Dharasena IV. Vs. 330, dvi-Margasira. Su. 2 C.A.D. 649	*EI.* XV. 1886. pp. 339 ff; *EI.* XX. 1891. pp. 380-81	(P) Camp at Bharukachha (F) Kaira	Br. Ādityaśarmana of Pārāśara (G) and Vājisaneya (S). resident of Kheḍa	Same list of officials mentioned previously	(a) A field in Vaddasomalikagrama in Kolamba in Khetakāhāra (b) A field in Duhuduhragrama in Nagarakapathaka (c) One *bṛsta* in the same place	–	(i) Duhudhu may be the same as Dehera. It lay to the west of Guddapalli and to the north of Jainnapalli. (ii) Guddapalli - the same as Gudali. It is about $2^1/_2$ miles NW of Dehera. The village Jūni is about 3 miles to the south of the latter. (iii) Kolamba – as mentioned in grant no. 61. (iv) Nagaraka – the headquarters of the pathaka of the same name is identified with Nagara, a place at a distance of 2 miles to the north of Cambay and 25 miles away from Kheḍa. (v) Uttinnaijjasthali – may be situated in the Amreli region. (vi) Vadedasomalika – identified with Vantavali and located to the west of Sihunj, a place 7 miles east of Ahemdabad.
72.	Vanthavali Plates of Dharasena IV. Vs. 330 –. C.A.D. 649	*EIR.* 1972-73. p. 40	(P) – (F) Vanthavali. Kheḍa district.	– (may be a brahmana)	–	Land in Vaddasomalikagrāma	–	(i) Kavitthavika is identified with Katavi, a village near Devalaj. (ii) Rohiniyarja – may be identified with Rohanj. 2 miles away from Nara a station of the Petald Cambay Railway line.
73.	Fragmentary Maitraka Charter of Dharasena IV (undated)	*EI.* XXXVIII. 1970. pp. 219ff.	–	Dudda *vihāra* at Valabhi	–	–	*Udranga. uparikara. bhumichhidra*	–
71.	Fragmentary Maitraka Grant of Dharasena IV. (undated)	*EI.* XXXVIII. 1970. pp. 223ff.		Some deity		Ksetrapadra consisting of 3 divisions. It was included in Lusapadraka in Saurāṣtra	-do-	Saptavasadi was located to the north of Madsar.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
75.	Copper - Plate Grant of Dhruvasena III. Vs. 332. C.A.D. 651	*BG*, I, pt. I, p. 92 (only noticed) ; *Bh L. No*, p. 391, f. n. 5 (only mentions the above reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
76.	Kapadavanj Plates of Dhruvasena III. Vs. 334, Māgha. Su. 9 C.A.D. 653	*I.A.* I. 1892, pp. 86ff.	(P) Camp at Sirisimmini ka (F) Kapadavanj	Br.Bhattibhatta of Kauśika (G) and Vājisaneya (S), resident of Mohichhaka	-	A village, Pattapadraka in Dakśiṇapatta of the Śivabhāgapuraviśaya	-	(i) Dakśiṇapatta - ,southern district of the Śivābhāga visaya comprising of region south of Pavāgadh (ii) Ghrtalaya - may be identified with the modern Ghutia on the Sutluj river and 8 miles NE of Janbughoda (iii) Khandhaja may be identified with Kundhaj, 10 miles SE of Dhank and 6 miles SW of Uplet (iv) Neradehha may be the same as Neroli (v) Patapadra - probably the same as Paderi, a village 8 miles south of Sivabhagpura (vi) Sirisimhimka lay near Kapadvanja (vii) Śivabhāgpura visaya lay to the NE of the Bharukachchha viśaya Śivabhāgapura is identified with Śivarājpura, 16 miles SE of Halol.
77.	Valā Museum Second Plate of Dhruvasena III. (undated)	*JBBRAS* (NS), I, 1925, pp 35-37	(P) (F) Vala	A *vihāra* built at Valabhi by Dudda		A village		(i) Konatapadraka as in grant No 67 (ii) Koratapadraka was near Madasara on the coastal line and may be identified with Kotada which is 3 miles east of Mahuva.
78.	Alina Plates of Kharagraha II. Vs. 337. Āśāḍha. ba. 5 C.A.D. 656	*I.A.* VII. 1878, pp. 76-79	(P) Camp at Pulindaka (F) -	Br. Nārāyaṇa of Sarkarāśi (G) and Bahvṛcha (S), resident of Khetaka		A village, Pangulapallika in Ghrtalayabhumi in Śivabhāgapura - viśaya		(i) Pangulujallika identified with Patia in the Śivarājapura visaya (ii) Pulindaka ,quite near Khetaka and Śivābhāgpura, may be identified with Pandu, 7 miles NW of Kalad.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
79	Valā Museum Second Plate of Śilāditya II. Vs. 313. Āṣāḍha. ba. –. C.A.D. 662	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. pp. 37-40.	(P) (F) Valā	A Buddhist *vihāra* built by *bhikṣus* Sthiramati and Vimalagupta at Valabhi		A village. Sihanka in Bhavasanka - sthali in Saurāṣtra		
80.	PWMB Plates of Śilāditya III. Vs.346. Pauṣa. Śu. 7 C.A.D. 665	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. pp. 73-75	–	Three Brs. - Soma., Pittalesvara and Nāga of various (G) and (S). residents of Siṁhapur	–	Three fields of (20. 20 and 10 *pada*. respectively) in Dachchanaka in HVA in Saurāṣtra	–	(i) Bhadraraka is identified with Bhadara. a village 2 miles towards the SW of Anti. (ii) Bhattikā possibly the same as the present Bhandi. a village at a distance of about 18 miles to the west of Hathab. and 14 miles from Sihor. (iii) Dachchanaka - situated to the east of Bhatikā (iv) Dandasa lay to the south of Lusa and to the west of Mahuva.
81.	Kaira Plates of Śilāditya II, vs. 346. VaiSakha. ba. 1 C.A.D. 665	*JISB*. VII. p. 968	(P) - (F) Kaira	Br Nadhulla of Tapa (G) and resident of Khetaka		(a) A field in Deyapalli in Nagaraka pathaka in Khetakāhāra. (b) Step-well. Bhagisaka (20 *pāda*). in Jambuvanara in Kalaksyodaka	–	(i) Deyapalli may be identified with Devalaj. situated to the west of Sojitra. a railway station about 2 to 3 miles north of Rohanaj. (ii) Jambuvanara - as in grant No 29 (iii) Nagaraka - same as in grant No. 71
82.	PWMB Plates of Siladitya III. Vs. 346. Margasira. ba. 3 C.A.D. 665	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. p. 72	(P) A military camp (F) –	Br. Yagñadatta of Gargya (G) and Chhandoga (S). resident of Valabhi		(a) A field (100 *pāda*) and a stepwell (25 *pāda*) in Pashmavatika in Kalaksyetaka in Saurastra (b) A field and a step well in a unknown grama in HVA.	*Brahmadeya*	Devakulapataka is identified with Devatkhadi in the vicinity of Chandodia.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
83.	Barton Museum Plates of Śīlāditya II., Vs. 347, Vaiśakha. ba. 15 C.A.D. 666	*PRASIE* 1915-16 p. 55	(P) Pulindaka (F)	Br. Saggada of Kauśika (G) and Dīkṣita (S), resident of Valabhi		(a) A field (100 *pāda*) in Kakkapadra in Kalapakapathaka (b) Step well (c) Dusanika (15 *pāda*) -	-do-	(i) Kalpaka - as in grant Nos. 46, 58, 69 (ii) Pulindaka - as in grant No. 59
84.	Lunsadi Plates of Śīlāditya III, Vs. 350, Phalguna. ba. 3 C.A.D. 669	*EI*. IV. 1896-97. pp. 76ff.	(P) A Camp at Khetaka (F) Lunsadi, Bhāvnagar	Brs. Brothers Bhaṭṭi and Iśvara of Daṇḍavya (G) and Vājisaneya (S)	-	Three fields of (90, 70 and 20 *pāda* respectively) and a step well (55 *pāda*) in Desanaka at the entrance of Madhumali in Saurāṣṭra	-do-	(i) Daśanaka - on the delta of the Madhumati river. (ii) Śivatratijjagrama may be the same as modern Visali near Lusdi which is 7 miles to the NE of Port Albert Victor. (iii) Vardhamāna identified with Vadhāvana. (iv) Visvapalli was in the south of Vaddasomalika and may be identified with Vansal, 3 miles SE of Vantavali (v) Pichchhipalli - Modern Paechegam, 3 miles NW of Vala.
85.	Lunsadi Plates of Śīlāditya II. Vs. 352. Bhadrapada, Śu. 1 C.A.D. 671	*EI*. XI. 1882. pp. 306ff.	(P) Camp at Meghavana (F) Lunsadi, Bhāvnagar.	Br. Magopadatta of Asayagarga (G) andAdhvaryu (S), resident of Valabhi		Two field (150 and 120 *pāda* respectively) in Dhusagrāma in Gosalyasa sthali in Saurāṣṭra.	-do-	Saptavasadi - as mentioned in grant No. 74.
86.	Bhāvnagar Rajkot Museum Plates of Śīlāditya III, Vs. 356, Jyeṣṭha. ba. 4 C.A.D. 675	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. pp. 57-63; *IEIR*. 1959-60. p. 39, No. 36	(P) A Camp at Pichchhupaṭi (F) –	A Buddhist *vihāra* built by *bhikṣu* Vimalagupta at Valabhi	-	A village, Kasaka in Mandali sthali in Saurāṣṭra		(i) Maṇḍali - as mentioned in grant Nos. 3, 51 and 56. (ii) Vardhamāna - as mentioned in grant No. 84.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
87	Jesar Plates of Śīlāditya II or III. vs. 357, dvi. Pauśa. ba. 1 C.A.D. 676	*IA.* XXII 1933-34. pp. 114-120	(P) Meghavana (F) Jesar, Bhāvnagar	Br. Saggada of Kauśika (G) and Vājisaneya (S)		(a) A field (101 *pāda*) and a step well (25 *pāda*) in Madasara in Madasara sthali (b) A field (30 *pāda*)– (c) A field (43 *pāda*) –	*Brāhmadeya*	Meghavana - same as mentioned in grant No. 85.
88.	Anastu Plates of Śīlāditya III., Vs. 357. Māgha. Su. 7 = C.A.D. 676	*IE..IR.* 1959-60. p. 387. No. 28	(P) Dhananda (F) Anastu, Barodā	Br. Balaśarman of Upamanyu (G) and Adhvaryu (S), resident of Śrāddhikasimh a	–	(a) A *Bhṛṣṭi*[8] in Antika in Bharukachchhaviś aya (b) A field, *Vrihipitaka* in the same place	–	(i) Antika is identified with Anti. 12 miles SE of the flag station. Bhoj between Baroda and Jambusara. (ii) Dhananda is identified with Dhanoda, about 4 miles NE of Karjan. (iii) Śrādhika is identified with a village. Sadhi, which is at a distance of 1 mile (East) of Anti. Sādhi is $7^1/_2$ miles away from the find-spot of the Plate. Anastu. (iv) Valapallika is identified with Vadla which is about 2 miles to the NE of Vatapalli sthali.
89.	Vatā Plates of Śīlāditya II or III. Vs. , , 365. VaiSakha. Su. 1 C.A.D. 684	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. p. 72	–	–	–	Something in Saurāṣtra?	–	–
90.	Amreli Plates of Śīlāditya IV. Vs. 368. Pauśa. Śu. 1 C.A.D. 687	*EI.* XXXV. pt. VI. 1964. pp. 281ff.	(P) Jayaskandha vara (F) Amreli	Br. Śankaraśarman of Bhāradvāja (G) and Bahvṛcha (S)	–	Two plots of land (125 *pāda*) and a step well (25 *pāda*) in the NW of Ajjakonha grāma in Kalapakapathaka	–	–

[7] According to *EI.* Vol. XXI. p. 208 this grant belonged to Siladitya III. The inscription mentions a term *Prachchilla*, which means 'a field irrigated by a well'.

[8] According to the *Sanskrit Hindi kosa*, by Vaman Sivarama Apte: *Bhrsti* means a ruined park or garden.(भृष्टि [illegible] - p. 752. Also refer to the Kaira Plates of Dharasena IV, dt. A.D. 649 (Grant No. 71) which also mention the donation of one *brsta*.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
91.	Bhāvnagar Plates of Śīlāditya IV. Vs. 372. Śrāvana. ba. 9 = C.A.D. 691	*I.I.* V. 1876. pp. 207-12	(P) Camp at tank Baladitya (F) Bhāvnagar	Br. Bhutakumara of Bhāradvāja (G) and Maitrayana (S). resident of Valabhi	–	A village. Lonapadraka near Khodasthalika in Lonapadraka sthali	–	Lonapadraka is identified with the modern Lunāvada
92.	Devali Plates of Śīlāditya IV. Vs. 375. Jheśtha. ba. 5 = C.A.D. 694	*VOI.* I. p. 253	(P) A Camp at Purnikagrama (F) Devali	Br. Devila of Śāṇḍilya (G) and Maitrayana (S). resident of Daśapura.	–	A village. Moranjijja in Antaratra in Saurāṣtra	*Brahmadeya*	(i) Antaratra - as in grant No. 30 (ii) Moranjijja is probably the modern Moruka. 8. miles NE of Talaja. a railway station on Veraval side. (iii) Purnikagrama - unidentified. (iv) Daśapura - identified with Mandasor. to the west of Ujjain.
93.	Plates from Valabhi of Śīlāditya IV. Vs. 376. Margasira. Su. 15 = C.A.D. 695	*EI.* V. 1898-99. p. 69 (notes)	(P) Valabhi (F) –	–	–	–	–	–
94.	PWMB Plates of Śīlāditya IV. Vs. 381. Margasira. Su. 6 = C.A.D. 700	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. p. 75	–	Br. (unknown). resident of Valabhi.	–	–	–	–
95.	Plates from Valabhi of Śīlāditya IV. Vs. 382. Margasira. Su. 6 = C.A.D. 701	*EI.* V. 1898-99. p. 69 (notes)	(P) Valabhi (F) –	–	–	–	–	Ganduka is to be identified with Gada. a village near Devalaj
96.	Talala Plates of Śīlāditya IV. Vs. 387. *Karttika*. 8 C.A.D. 706	*IAR.* 1978-79. p. 78	(P) Victorious Camp at. Khetaka (F) Talala. Junāgadh	A Br. (unknonw) of Bhārdvāja (G) and Bahvṛch (S)				(No more details available)
97.	Dhasha Plates of Śīlāditya. IV. Vs. 387. Margasira. Su. 6 = C.A.D. 706	*IEAR.* 1955-56. p. 21. No. 79. Appx. A	–	–	–	–	–	(No details available)

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
98.	Śharmiśtha Lake Plates of Śilāditya IV (undated)	*IHR*, 1967-68, No. 3, p. 15	(P) (F) Śharmiśtha Lake, Vādnagar, Mehsānā Dist., Gujarāt	A Br (unknown) of Samkritya (G) and Sabrahmachari (S)		An unknown village		(No other information is available)
99.	Undavi Plates of Śilāditya IV or V (undated)	*JCB*, IV, 1935-36, pt. 1, pp. 5-9	(P) Savandika (F) Undavi, Valā, Kāthiāwād	–	–	–	–	Savanadika - The grant was issued from a military camp at this place. It may be identified with Savalkot, about 9 miles to the north of Kamlej and near the findspot of the grant.
100.	Gondal Plate of Śilāditya V, Vs. 403, Māgha, ba. 12 = C.A.D. 722	*JCB*, IV, 1935-36, pt. 1, pp. 5-9	(P) Camp at Khetaka (F) Dhank, Gondal	Br. Vasudevabhuti of Gargya (G) and Bahvṛch (S), resident of Lipitikhanda	–	A village, Antarapallika near Dinnaputra in Saurāṣtra	–	(i) Antarapallika is identified with the modern village Antroli- derivation of Antarapallika. (ii) Dinnaputra is near the village Antarapallika (iii) Liptikhanda was situated near Dhank. (iv) Vahuvataka in the Suryapura visaya was situated on the bank of the river Vappoika. It is tentatively identified with Bhaliawad in the Dohad taluka. It is also probable that the place is now called Vaula, a village $1^{1}/_{4}$ miles west of Lunavada. Ther Veri river flows by its side. (v) Varddhamāna is the same as Vadhāvana. It was the capital of the Chapotakas under Dhranivaraha. The town is named after Varddhamānasuri, the last of the Jaina Trithānkaras. Merutunga, the famous Jaina scholar, resided at this place.

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
101.	Gondal Plates of Śilāditya V, Vs. 103, VaiSakha, Su. 13 C.A.D. 722	*JBBRAS*, XI. 1875, pp. 335ff.	(P) Camp at Khetaka (F) Dhank Gondal	-do- (As in Grant No. 100)	–	A village Kandhajja, near Uisingha in Saurāṣṭra	–	(i) Uisingha was situated near the village Kundhaj. (ii) Uptikhanda and Varddhamāna - as described above in grant No. 100.
102.	Śharmiṣtha Lake Plates[1] of Śilāditya V. (undated)	*IL..IR*. 1967-68. No. 4. p. 15	(P) – (F) Śharmiṣtha Lake in Vāḍnagar. Mehsana dist., Gujarāt	Br. Bhatta Maheśvaradatta of Samkrita (G) and Chhandoga (S). resident of Ānandapura	–	Villages Mandiyapadra in Vātapura in Saurāṣtra: and Pippalavi. connected to Uchchanagara in Lāṭadesa	–	(i) Ānandapura - as in grant Nos. 19 and 38 (ii) Mandiyapadra situated in Vatsapura in Saurāṣtra - unidentified. (iii) Pippalavi - is unidentified (iv) Uchchanagrama in Lāṭadesa is unidentified
103.	Lunāvada Plates. of Śilāditya VI. Vs. 441. Karttika. Su. 5 = C.A.D. 760	*IA*. VI. 1877. pp. 16-21	(P) Godraka (F) Lunāvada. Rewā. Bombay	Br. Sambhulla. of Parasara (G) and Atharvana (S). resident of Dakka	List of officials mentioned previously	A village. Bahubataka on the bank of Vappoika in Suryapura Viṣya	*Udranga. Uparikara. visti. Bhuta-vata pratyaya*	(i) Godrahaka may be Godhara. the capital of Panchamahal district. From the name of the place it appears that there was a lake for cows near it. (ii) Suryapura can be identified with Surdi. a village 4 miles to the east of Shalera. a station between Godra and Lunāvada. It is 11 miles away from Godra and Lunāvada.
104.	Ạlina Plates of Śilāditya VII. Vs. 447. Jyeṣtha. Su. 5 = C.A.D. 766	*CII*. III. p. 173ff.	(P) Victorious Camp at Ānandapura (F) Alina. Kaira	Br. Akhandalamitra of Śarkkaṛaksi (G) and Bahvṛch (S). resident of Ānandapura	-do-	A village in Mahilabali in Uppalahetapathaka in Khetakaāhāra.	-do-	(i) Mahilabali (correct version - Mahisabali). The place may be identified with the present Mahisa. 3 miles north of Alina. the findspot of the grant. (ii) Uppalaheta may be identified with Upleta in the Thasara taluka. The village is 5 miles to the SE of Thasara. 35 miles from Kheda and 13 miles from Alina.

[1] This grant is badly corroded No other information is available

Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
105.	Bombay Asiatic Society - Spurious Plates of Dharasena II[10]. Sam. 400. Vaiśakha - Purṇimā. C.A.D. 478	*IA* X 1881 pp 277f.	(P) Valabhi (F)	Br. Govinda of Kausika (G) and Chhandoga (S)		A field Nandiaraka/Nandiasā-raka in Kantasagrāma in Sodasatamvisaya	*Viṣṭi* and rent paid by non-resident cultivators	Nandiasāraka - may be it lay close to the Tapti river.
106.	Bansoda State Plates[11] - Spurious Grant of Dharasena II. S 400 - . = C.A.D. 478	Dvivedi. *Purātana Dakṣina Gujarāt*. p. 194	(P) Valabhi (F) Bansoda State	Br. Goma	–	A village. Vikilisa in Gharayaviṣya	–	Tabhagrama is identified with Timba.
107.	Bankodi Stone Inscription[12] (details not known)	*BPSI*. p. 30	–	–	–	A field (100 *pāda*) and a step well (12 *pāda*) in Maṇḍala in HVA	–	–
108.	Maitraka Stone Inscription[13], Śilāditya. Vs. 346 = C.A.D. 665	*EIR*. 1980-81. p. 79	–	–	–	–	–	–
109 to 118.	Maitraka Stone Inscriptions[14]	Published in *JBORI*. XX. p. 3ff.	–	–	–	–	–	–

[10] This grant attributed to Dharasena II. is regarded as a spurious one on the following grounds :
(a) Unlike other Maitraka grants it has charters which closely resemble those of the Gurjara Daḍḍa II's Umeta. S 400. Plates. *IA*. XXXII. 1903. p. 52f.
(b) It is the only Maitraka epigraph to have the Śaka era.
(c) There is error in the genealogy of Maitraka kings as Guhasena is stated to be the son of Bhatarka (In fact he was Bhaṭārka's grandson)
(d) Dharasena is called Dharasenadeva.
(e) The seal of the Bull shows the animal standing whereas all other Maitraka epigraphs show him in a sitting position.

[11] This grant. of this particular Maitraka king is also regarded as a spurious one.

[12] No more details are available. (It probably belonged to Guhasena)

[13] It is an undressed rectangular plate fixed in the right side wall of a step-well. The language is Sanskrit. It does not say which Śilāditya issued it, but since the date is given as Vs. 346, it probably belonged to Śilāditya III. No other information is derived from it.

[14] No more information is derived from any of these, presumably, Maitraka land grant charters.

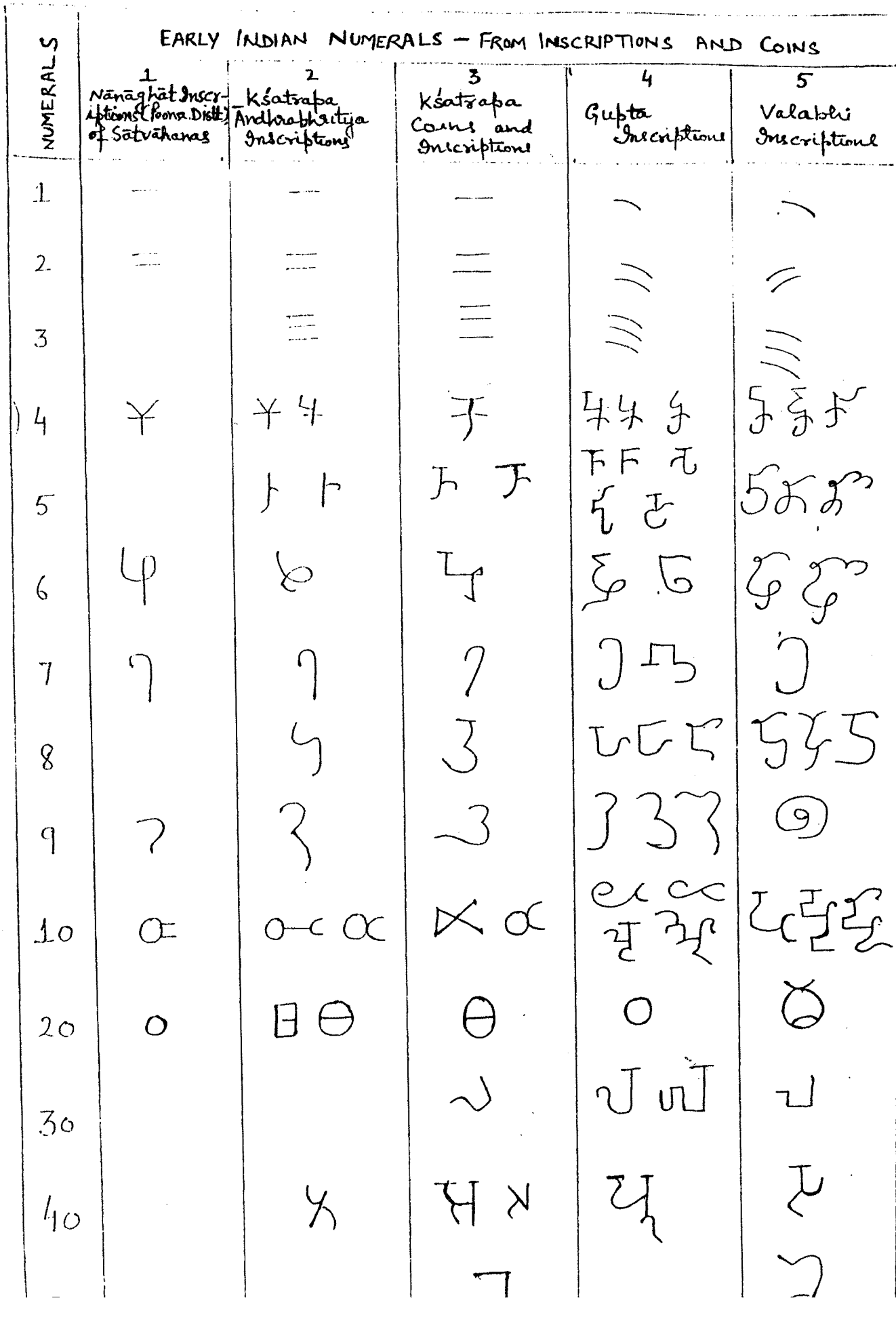
Sr. No.	Donor King and Dates	Reference	Place of Issue (P) & Find Spot (F)	Donee (s)	Addressee's	ObjectsDonated	Privileges Granted	Place Identification
119.	Walā Fragmentary inscriptions[15] (Guhasena) undated	*I.I.* XIV. p. 75	(P) – (F) Valabhi	–	–	–	–	–
120.	Asodar , copper plate of Silāditya VI. ??. vs. 421.	*Svādhyāya*. no. 16. pp. 440-449.	–	–	–	–	–	–

*** In addition to the abbreviations listed earlier, the following have been used in Appendix A.

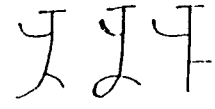
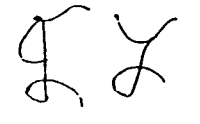
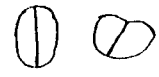
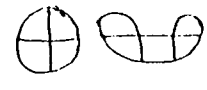
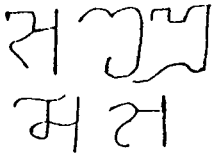
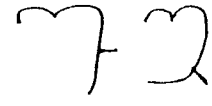
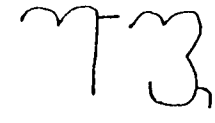
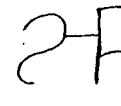
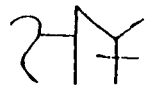
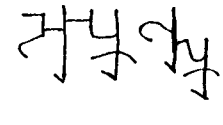
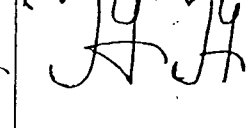
Ba. : Bahula (pakśa). i.e.. the dark half of the month
Br. : Brahmana
(G) : Gotra
(S) : Śākhā
HVA : Hasta Vaprahāra
(P) : Place of Issue
(F) : Find Spot
Pada : Pādavarta
Su : Śukla (pakśa). i.e.. the bright half of the month.

[15] Found Inscibed on a small clay pot.

A List of Numerals from Maitraka Inscriptions and Coins
Alongside a comparison with the Numerals of other Earlier Dynasties)



EARLY INDIAN NUMERALS — FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS

NUMERALS	1 Nānāghāt Inscriptions (Poona Distt) of Sātavāhanas	2 Kṣatrapa Āndhrabhṛtya Inscriptions	3 Kṣatrapa Coins and Inscriptions	4 Gupta Inscriptions	5 Valabhi Inscriptions
60					
70					
80					
90					
100					
200					
300					
400					
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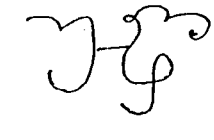
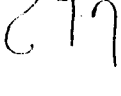
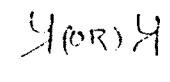
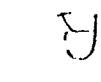
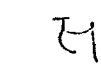
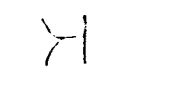
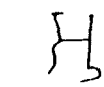
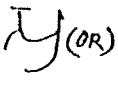
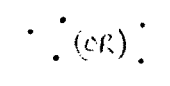
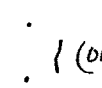
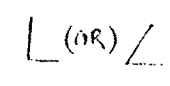
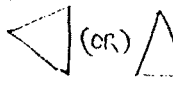
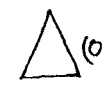
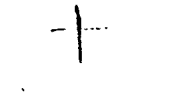
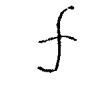
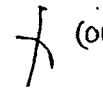
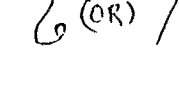
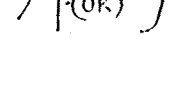
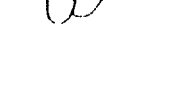
600					
700					

(B) A Catalogue of Alphabets as found in the Maitraka Grants (Alongside a Comparison with Alphabets of Other Earlier Dynasties)

EARLY INDIAN ALPHABETS — FROM INSCRIPTIONS

ALPHABETS	1 MAURYAN DYNASTY (3RD. CENT. B.C.)	2 KṢATRAPA DYNASTY (2ND. CENT. A.D.)	3 TRAIKUTAKA DYNASTY (4TH. CENT. A.D.)	4 GUPTA DYNASTY (4TH & 5TH CENT. A.D.)	5 MAITRAKA DYNASTY (6TH. CENT. A.D.)
अ (A)					
आ (Ā)					
इ (I)					
उ (U)					
ए (E)					
ओ (O)					
अं (AṂ)					
क (KA)					
ख (KHA)					
ग (GA)					
घ (GHA)					

... INDIAN ALPHABETS — FROM INSCRIPTIONS

ALPHABET.	1 MAURYAN DYNASTY (3RD. CENT B.C.)	2 KṢATRAPA DYNASTY (2ND. CENT. A.D.)	3 TRAIKUTAKA DYNASTY (4TH. CENT. A.D.)	4 GUPTA DYNASTY (4TH. & 5TH. CENT. A.D.)	5 MAITRAKA DYNASTY (6TH. CENT. A.D.)
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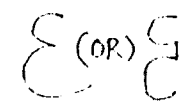
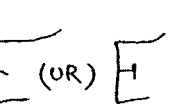
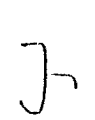
ज (JA)					
झ (JHA)					
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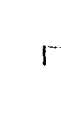
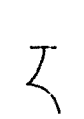
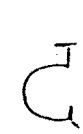
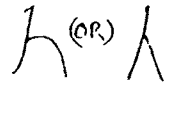
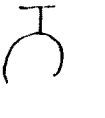
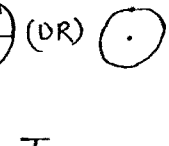
ट (ṬA)					
ठ (ṬHA)					
ड (ḌA)					
ढ (ḌHA)					
ण (ṆA)					
त (TA)					
थ (THA)					
द					

EARLY INDIAN ALPHABETS — FROM INSCRIPTIONS

ALPHABE	1. MAURYAN DYNASTY (3RD. CENT. B.C.)	2 KṢATRAPA DYNASTY (2ND. CENT. A.D.)	3 TRAIKUTAKA DYNASTY (4TH. CENT. A.D.)	4 GUPTA DYNASTY (4TH & 5TH. CENT. A.D.)	5 MAITRAKA DYNASTY (6TH. CENT. A.D.)
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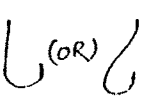
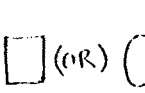
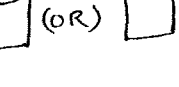
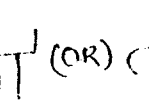
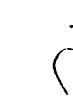
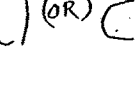
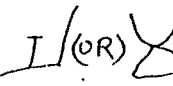
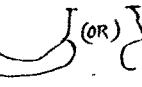
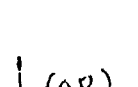
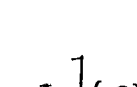
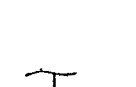
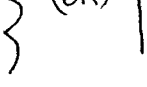
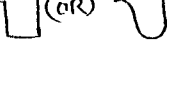
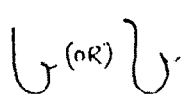
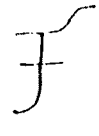
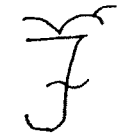
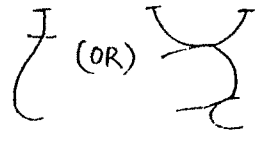
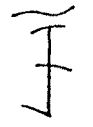
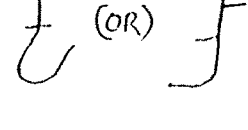
न (NA)					
प (PA)					
फ (PHA)					
ब (BA)					
भ (BHA)					
म (MA)					
य (YA)					
र (RA)					
ल (LA)					
व (VA)					
स (SA)					
श (ŚA)					
ष					

ALPHABE	EARLY INDIAN ALPHABETS				
	1 MAURYAN DYNASTY (3RD CENT. B.C.)	2 KSATRAPA DYNASTY (2ND. CENT. A.D.)	3 TRAIKUTAKA DYNASTY (4TH. CENT. A.D.)	4 GUPTA DYNASTY (4TH & 5TH. CENT. A.D.)	5 MAITRAKA DYNASTY (6TH. CENT. A.D.)
ह (HA)					
य (YADA)					

Appendix I.B.

(C) Table Showing the Stages in the development of the Brahmi Script (From Valabhi Inscriptions)

ALPHABETS	SYMBOL	ALPHABETS	SYMBOL
क (KA)		के (KE)	
का (KĀ)		कै (KAI)	
कि (KI)		को (KO)	
की (KĪ)		कौ (KAU)	
कु (KU)	 (OR)	कं (KAM)	
कू (KŪ)	 (OR)	कः (KAH)	

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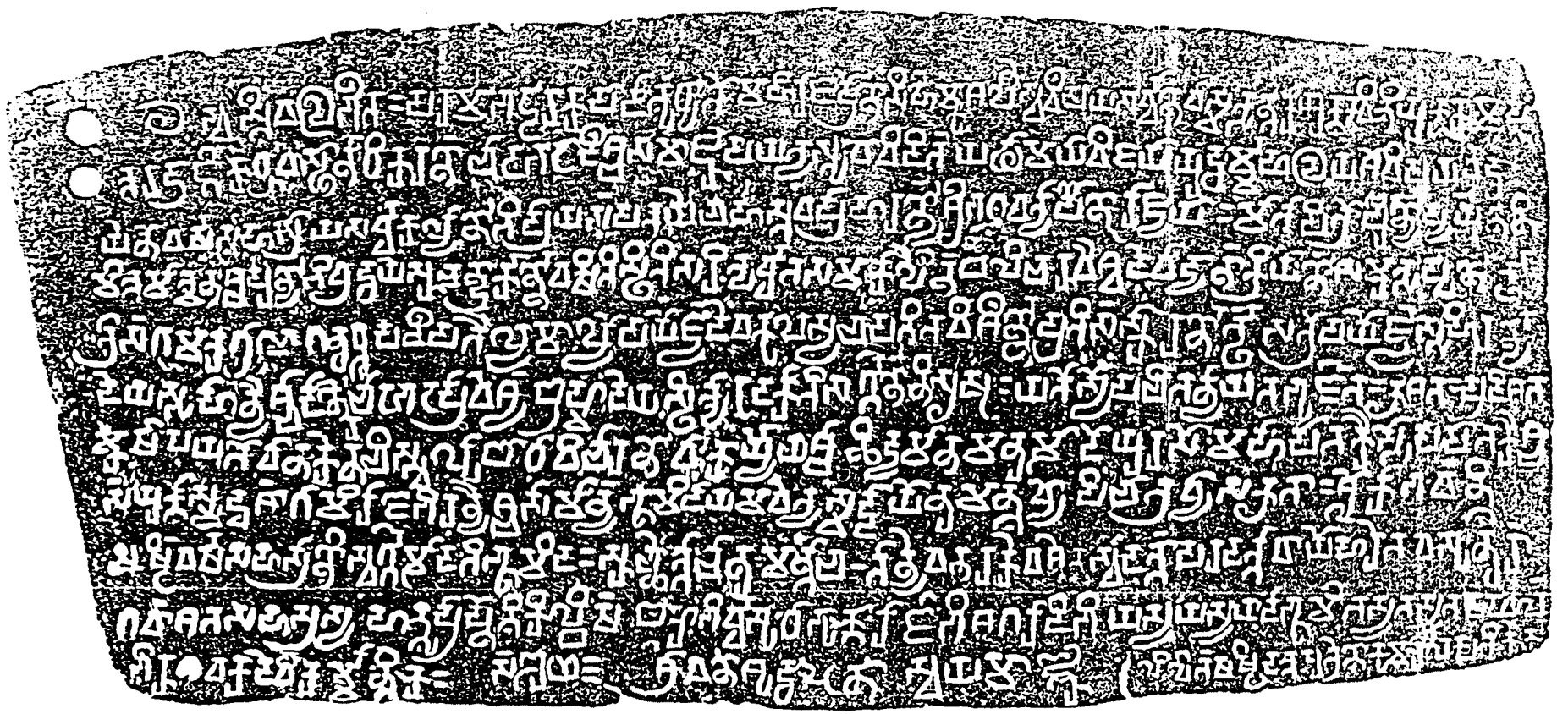


Plate I Bhamodra Mohota Plate of Dronasimha, dated vs. 183, i.e., c. A.D. 502 (Appendix A, Grant No. 1)

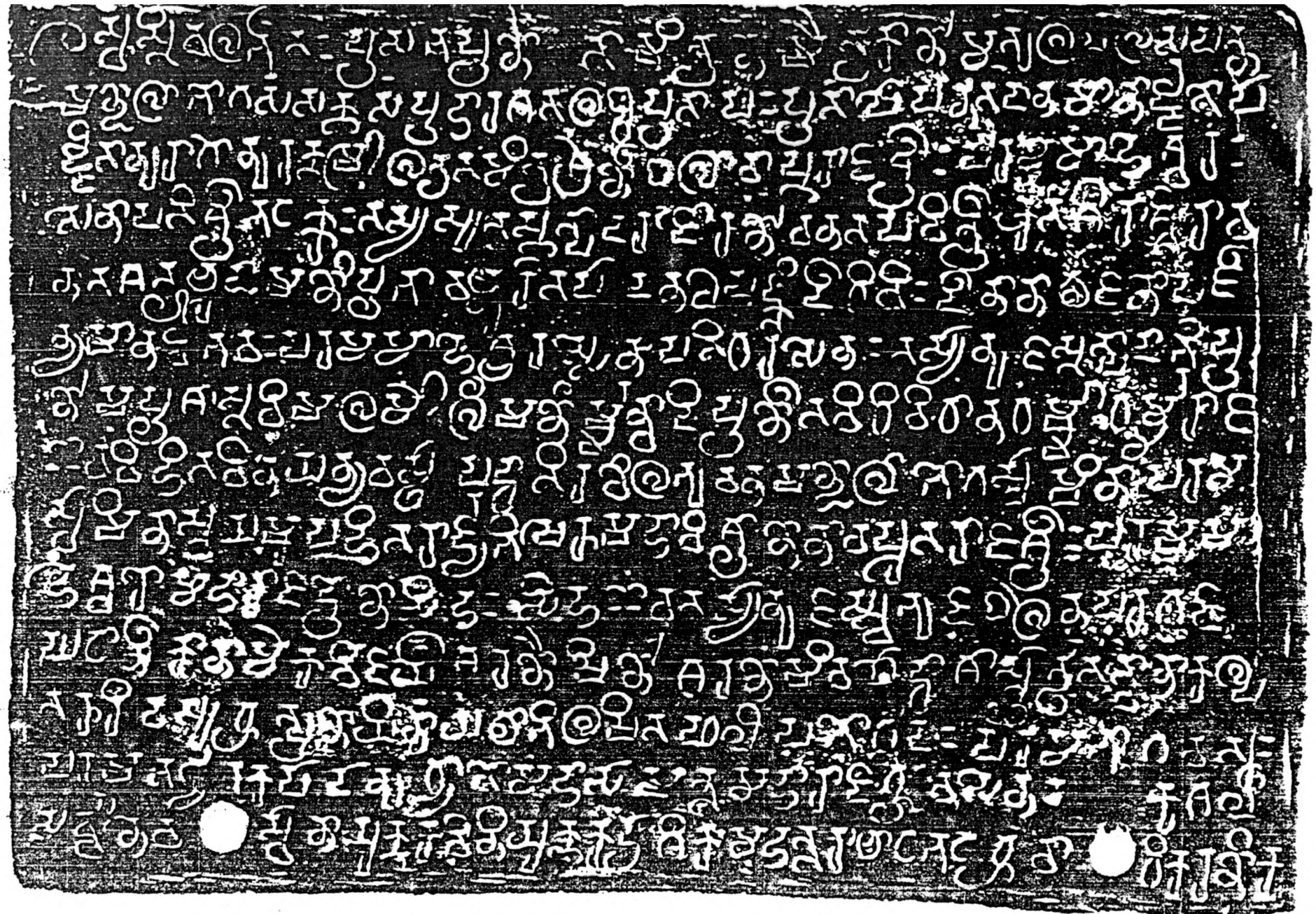


Plate II Palitana Plates of Dhruvasena I, dt. s. 206, i.e., c. A.D. 525 (Appendix A, Grant No. 2)

II 2nd HALF

Plate III Maliya Plates of Dharasena II, dt. vs. 252, i.e., c. A.D. 571 (Appendix A, Grant No. 30)

III 2nd HALF

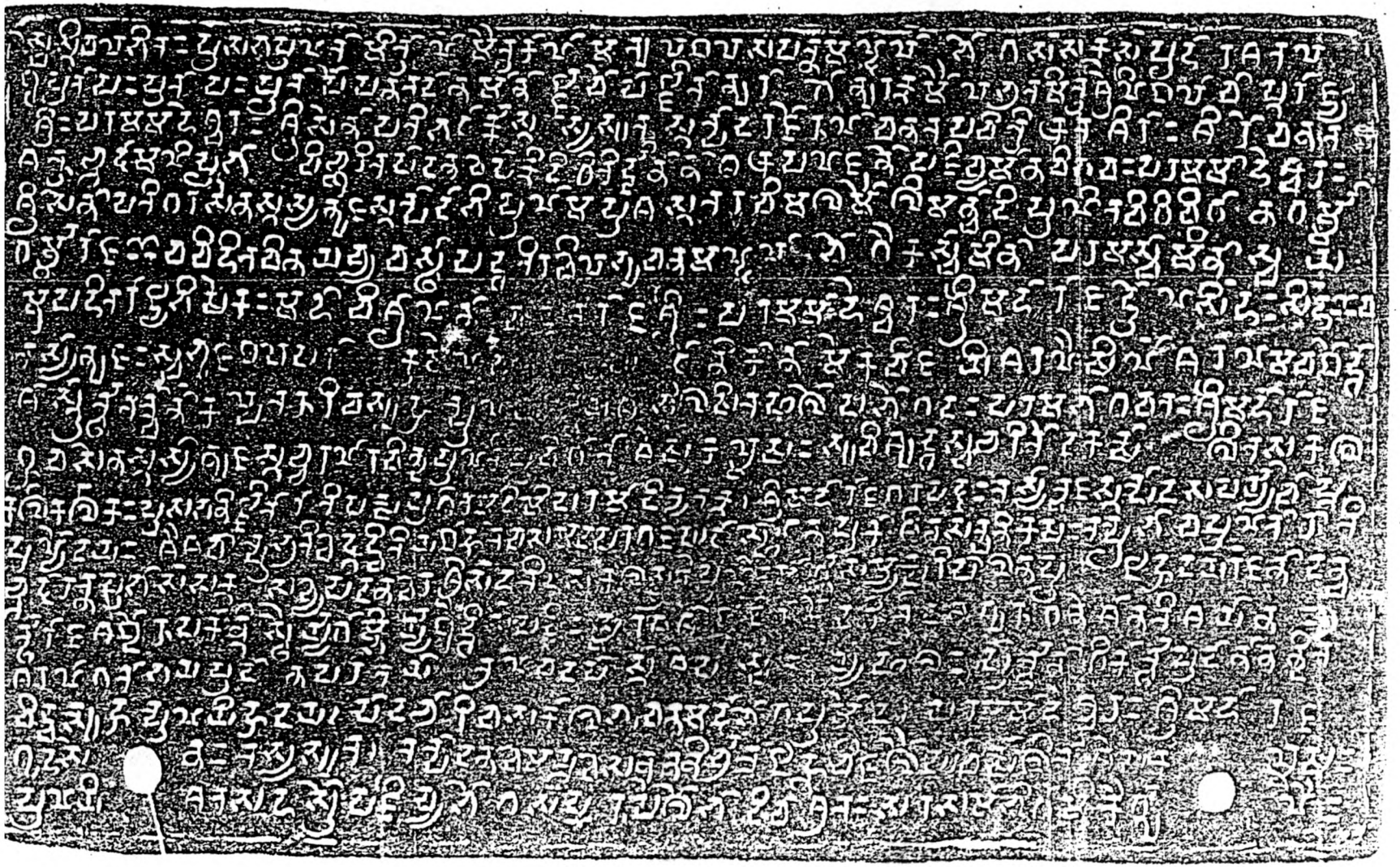
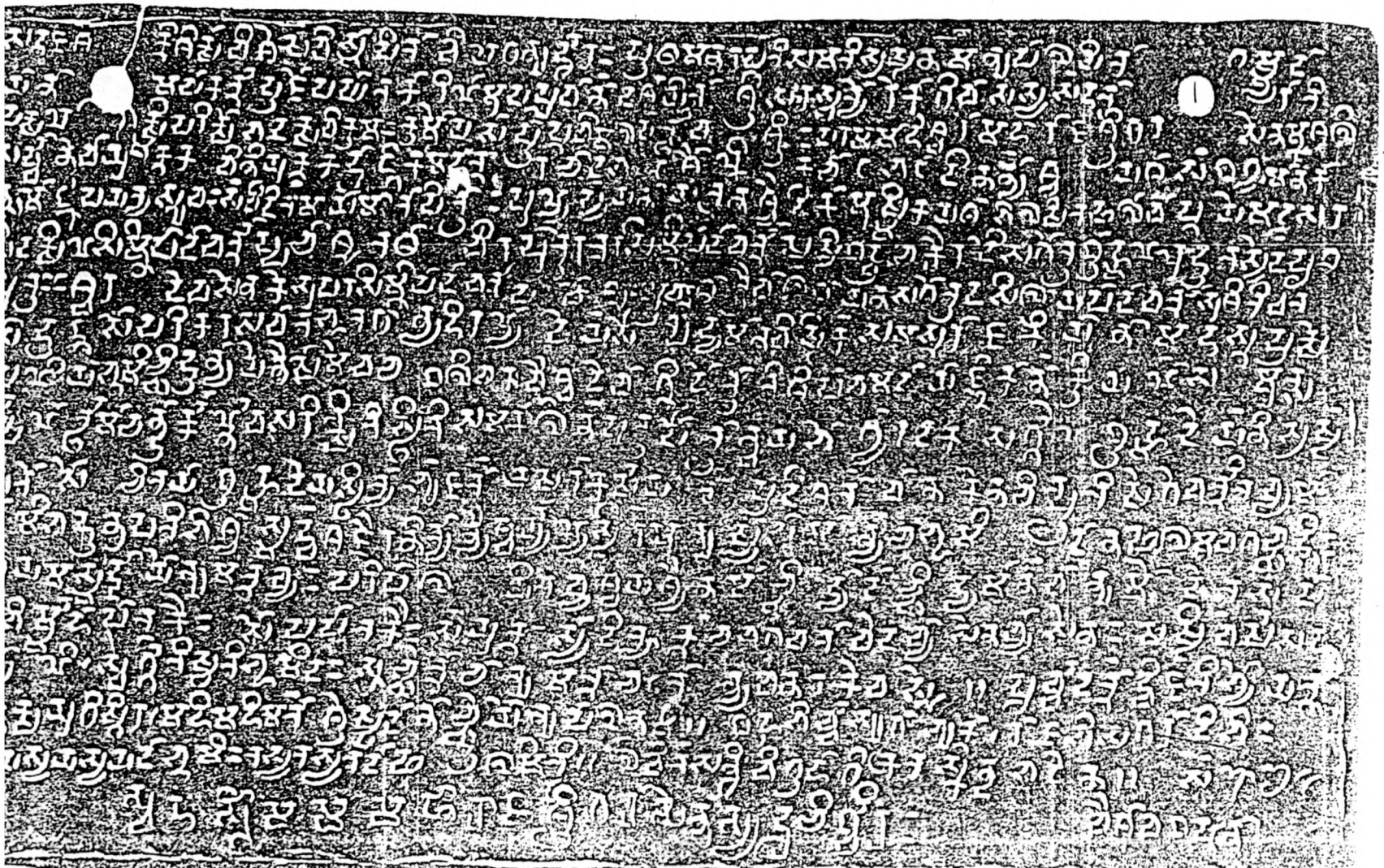


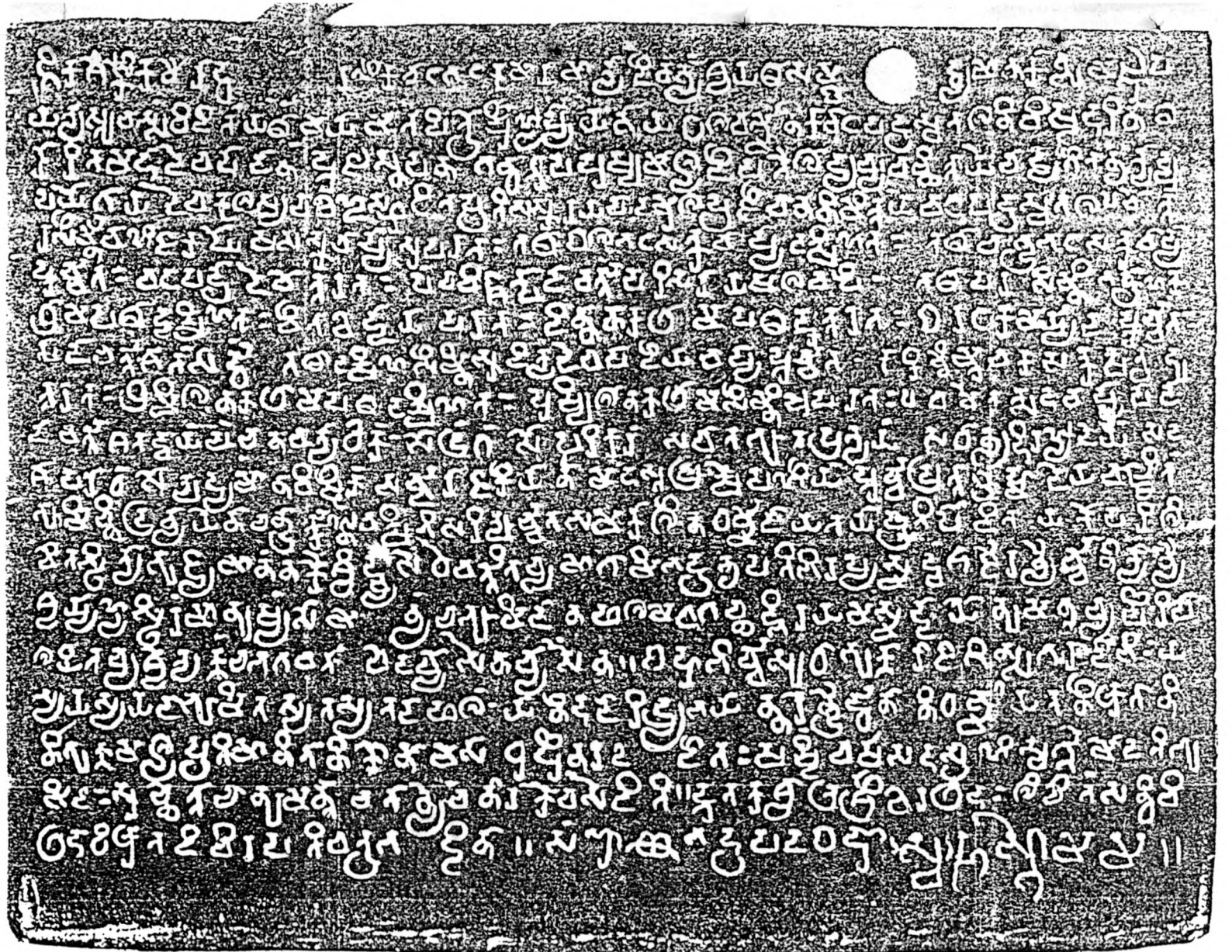
Plate IV Bombay Asiatic Society Plates of Dharasena II
dt. vs. 252, i.e., c. A.D. 571 (Appendix A, Grant No. 32)

Ist HALF



IV 2nd HALF

Plate V Dhank Plates of Siladitya I, dt. vs. 290, i.e., c. A.D. 609 (Appendix A, Grant No. 50)



V IInd HALF

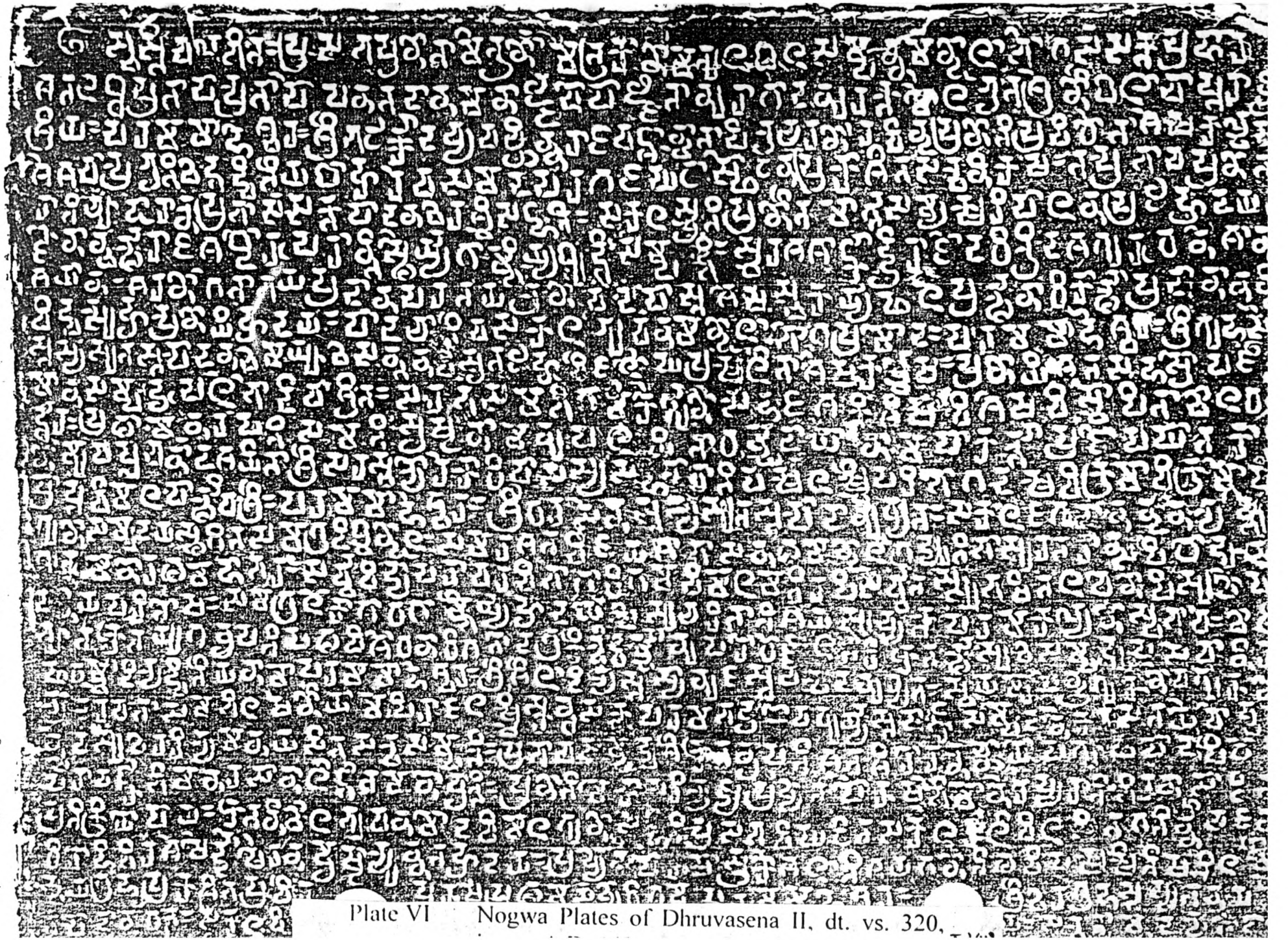
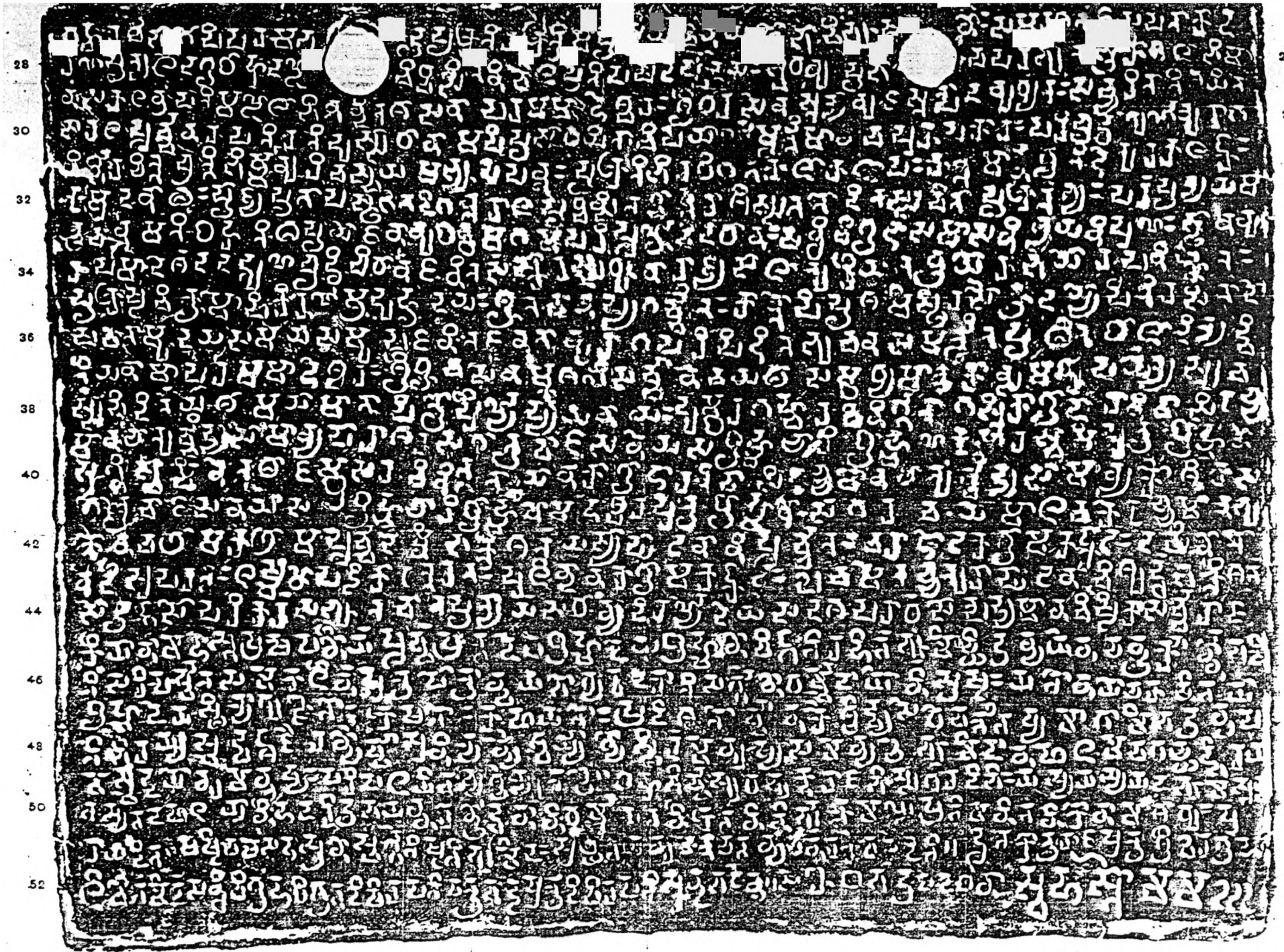


Plate VI Nogwa Plates of Dhruvasena II, dt. vs. 320,



VI 2nd HALF

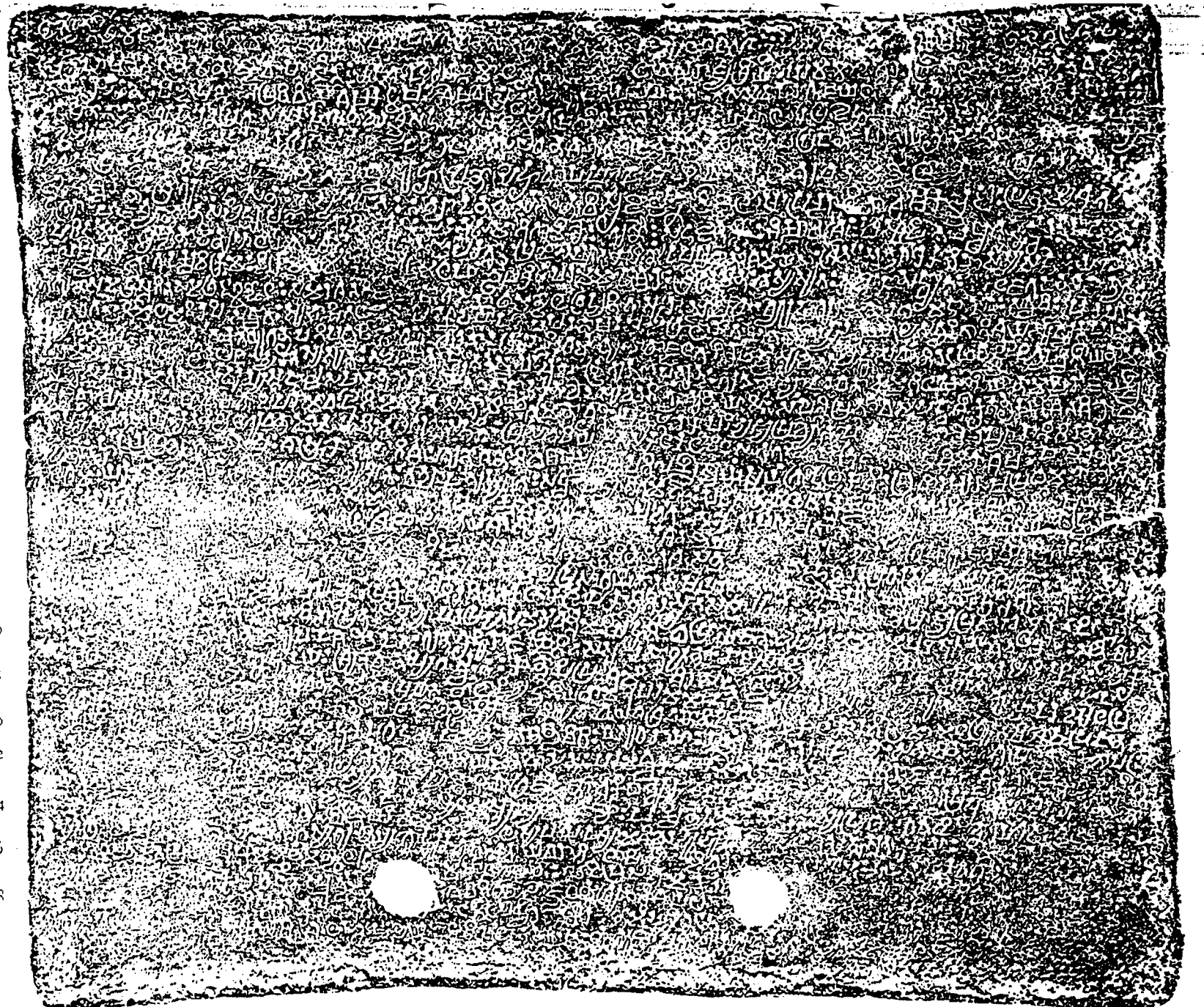
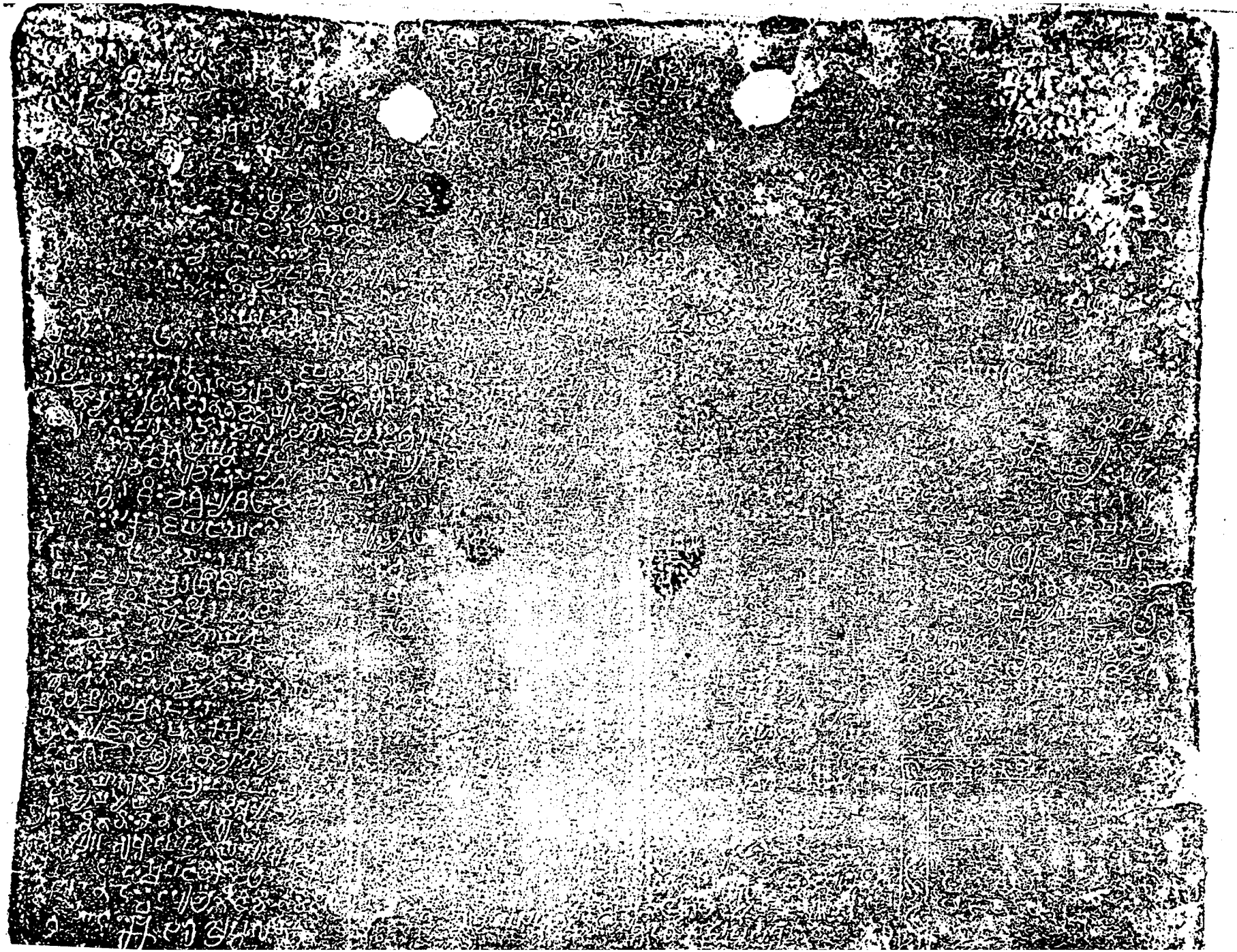


Plate VII Alina Plates of Siladitya VII, dt. vs. 447, i.e.,



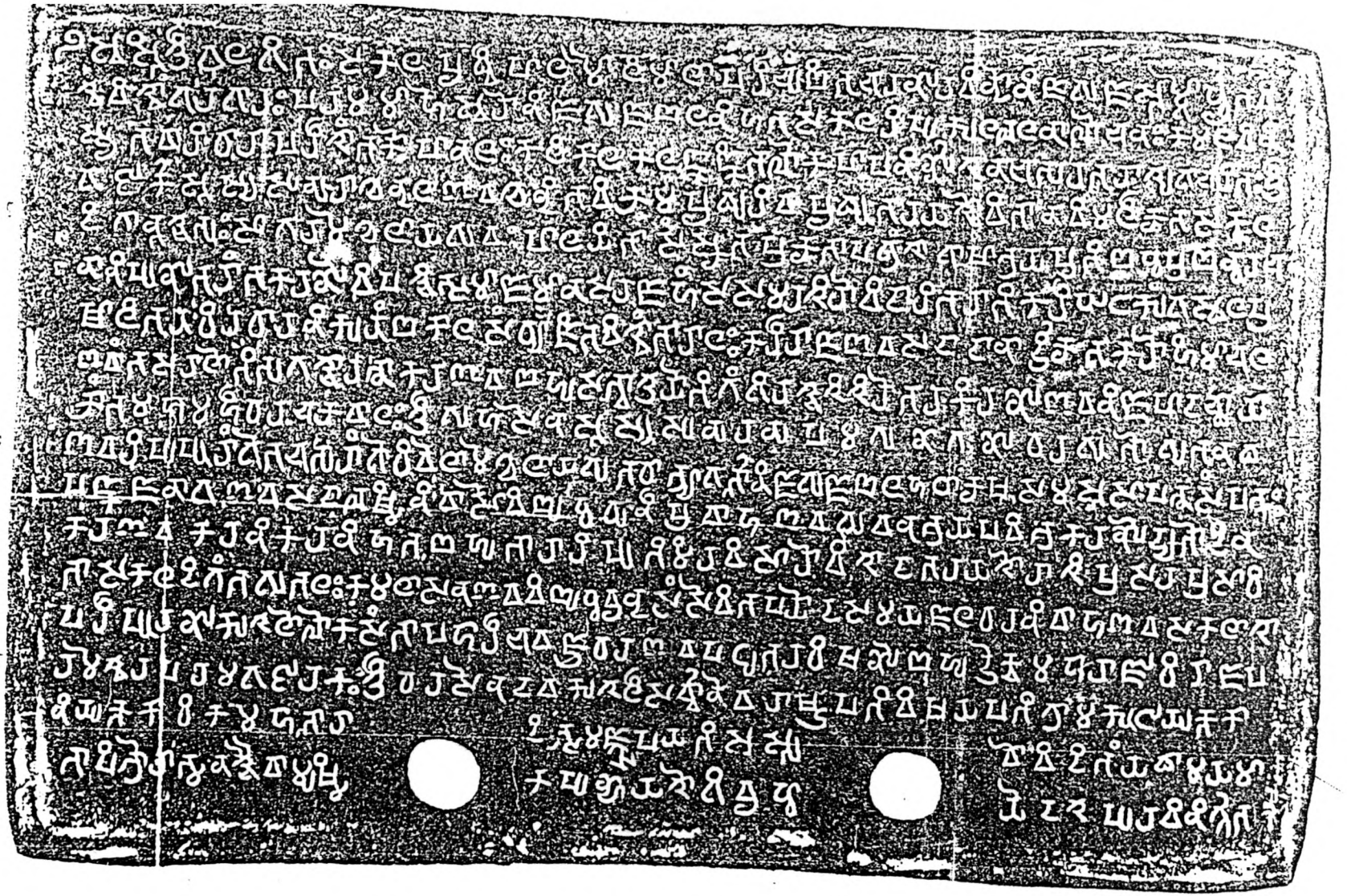
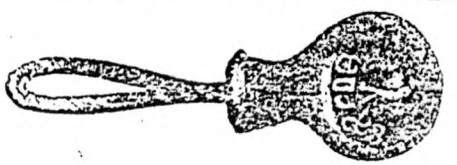


Plate VIII Bombay Asiatic Society, Spurious Plates of Dharasena II, dt. Saka Samvat 400, i.e., c. A.D. 478 (Appendix A, Grant No. 105)



VIII 2nd HALF

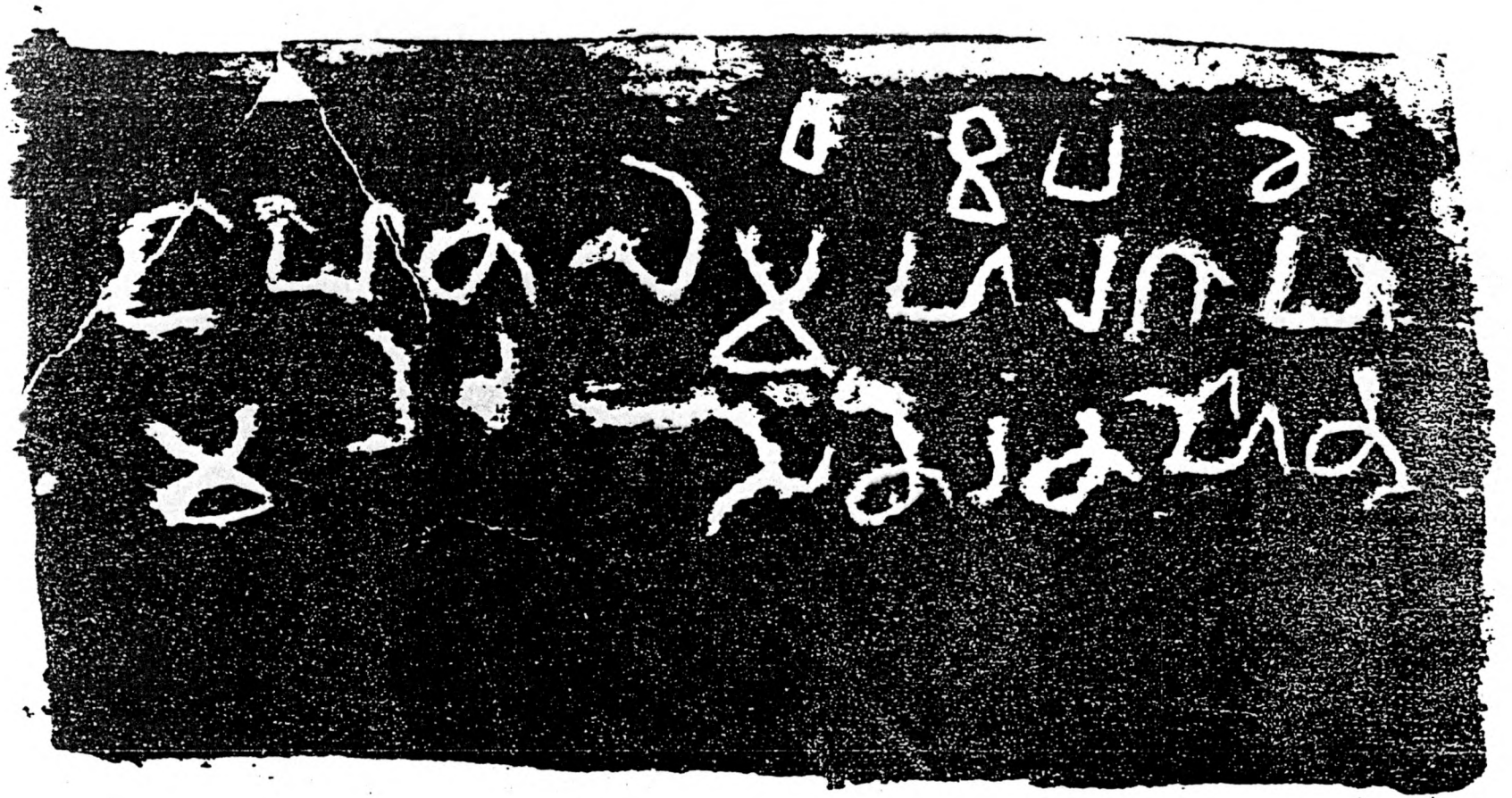


Plate IX A Maitraka Stone Inscription from Bankodi (Appendix A, Grant No. 107)

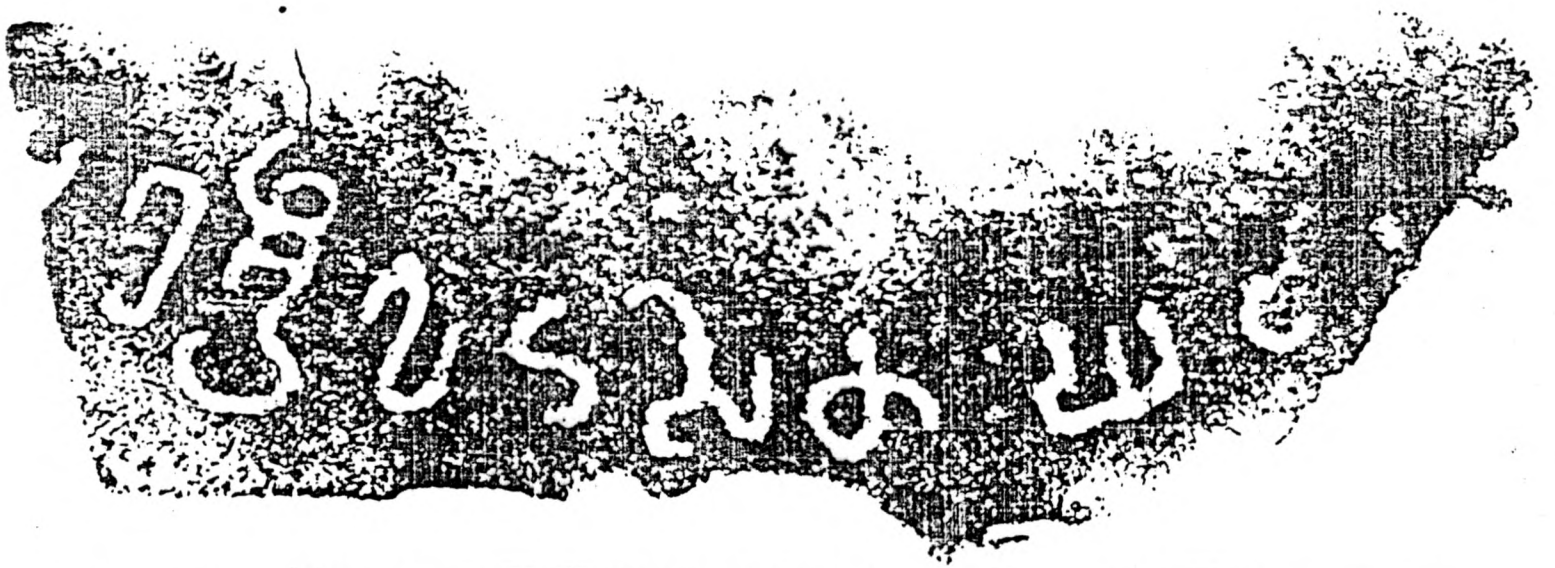


Plate X Wala Fragmentary Earthenware Inscription of Guhasena, dt. vs. 246, 247 and 248, i.e., c. A.D. 565, 566 and 567 (Appendix A, Grant No. 119)

(A) Maitraka Copper-plate Seal of a Nandī, with the legend *Bhaṭakkah*

Plate XI The Maitraka Seal (A–B)

(B) A MAITRAKA SEAL

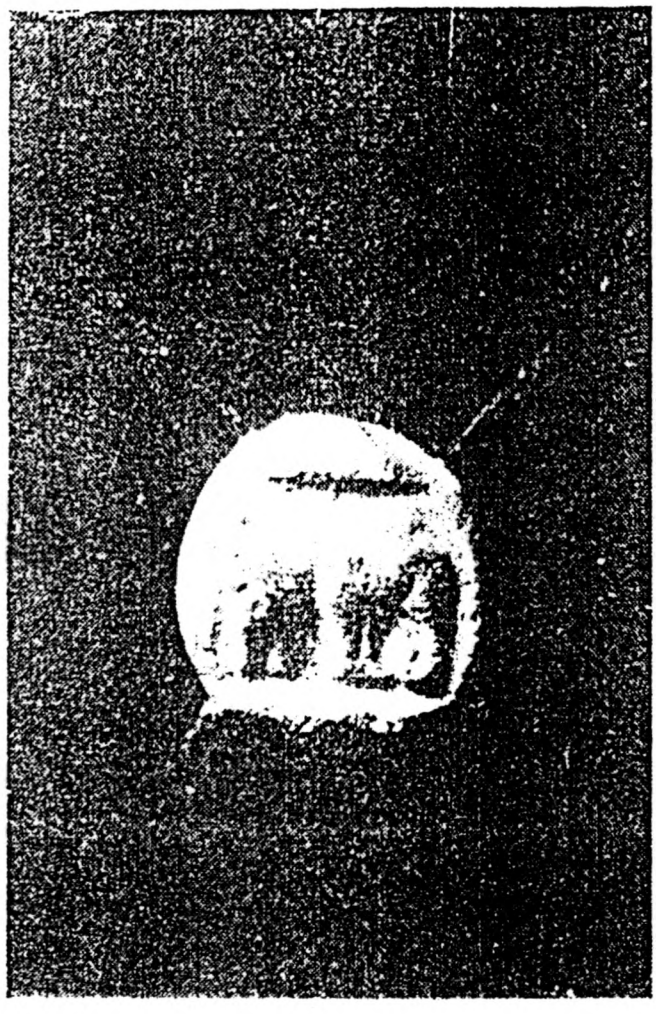


Plate XII A Buddhist Seal from Vala (depicting an Elephant)

Plate XIII

Inscribed Buddha Bronze, Fergussion Museum, Bhuj

Inscription on the two sides of the pedestal reads :—

(1) देयधर्मोऽयं नागसिंघभिक्षुः तस्य भिक्षुणिकासमाः

(2) मात...देवस्य कीर्तिः स्थापिता ।

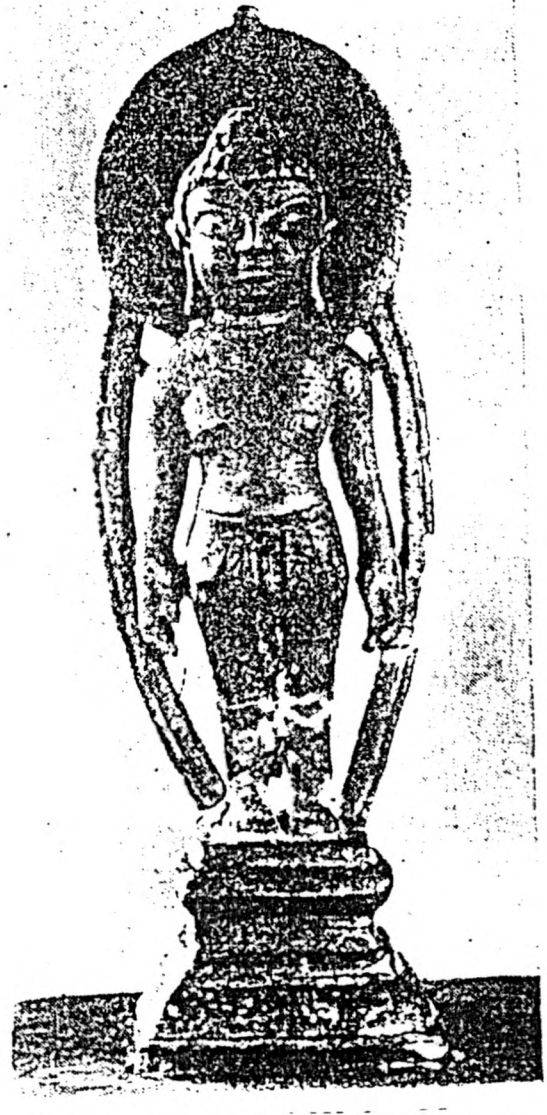


Plate XIV An Image of Buddha from Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

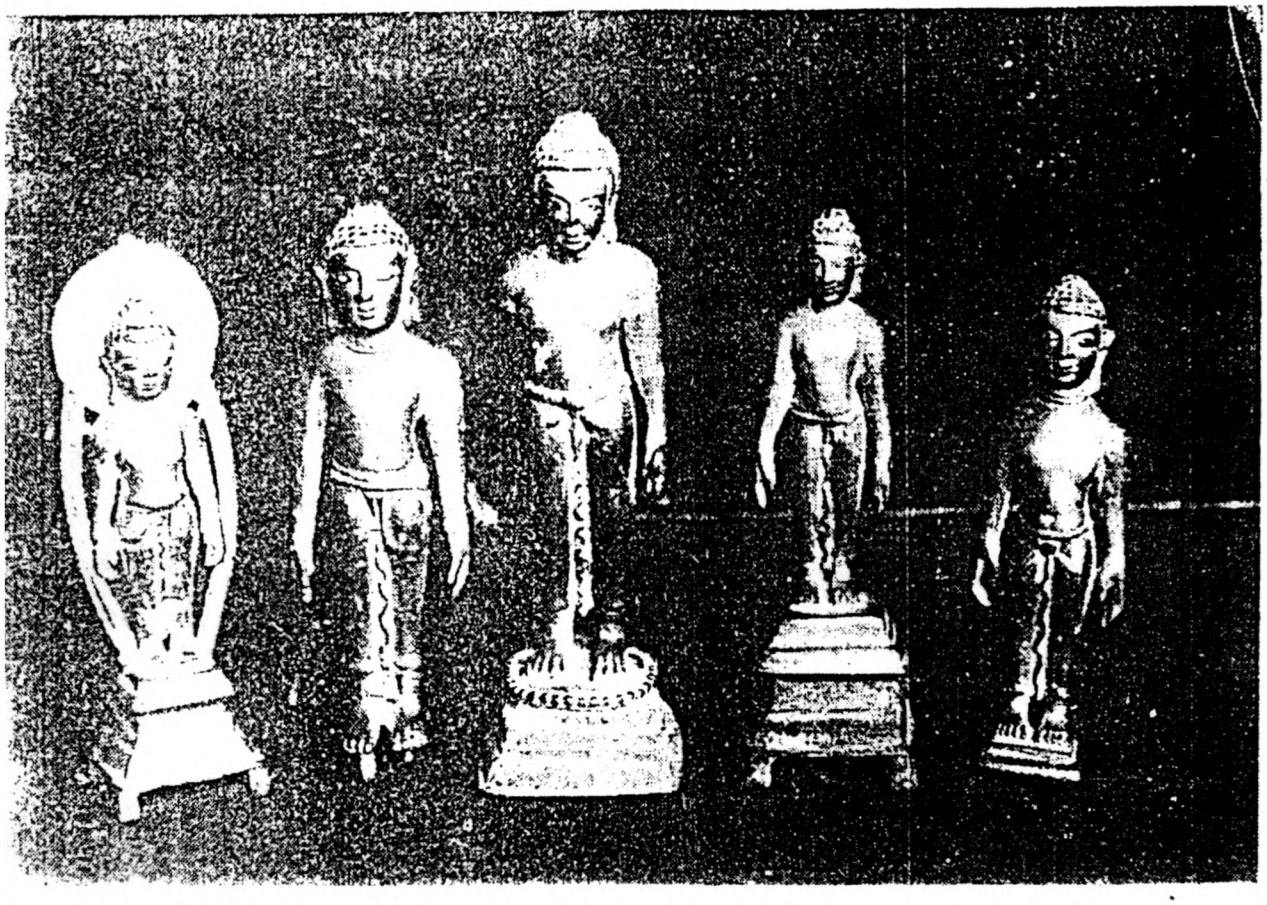


Plate XV Five Bronze Images from Vala (Prince of Wales Museum) Bombay.

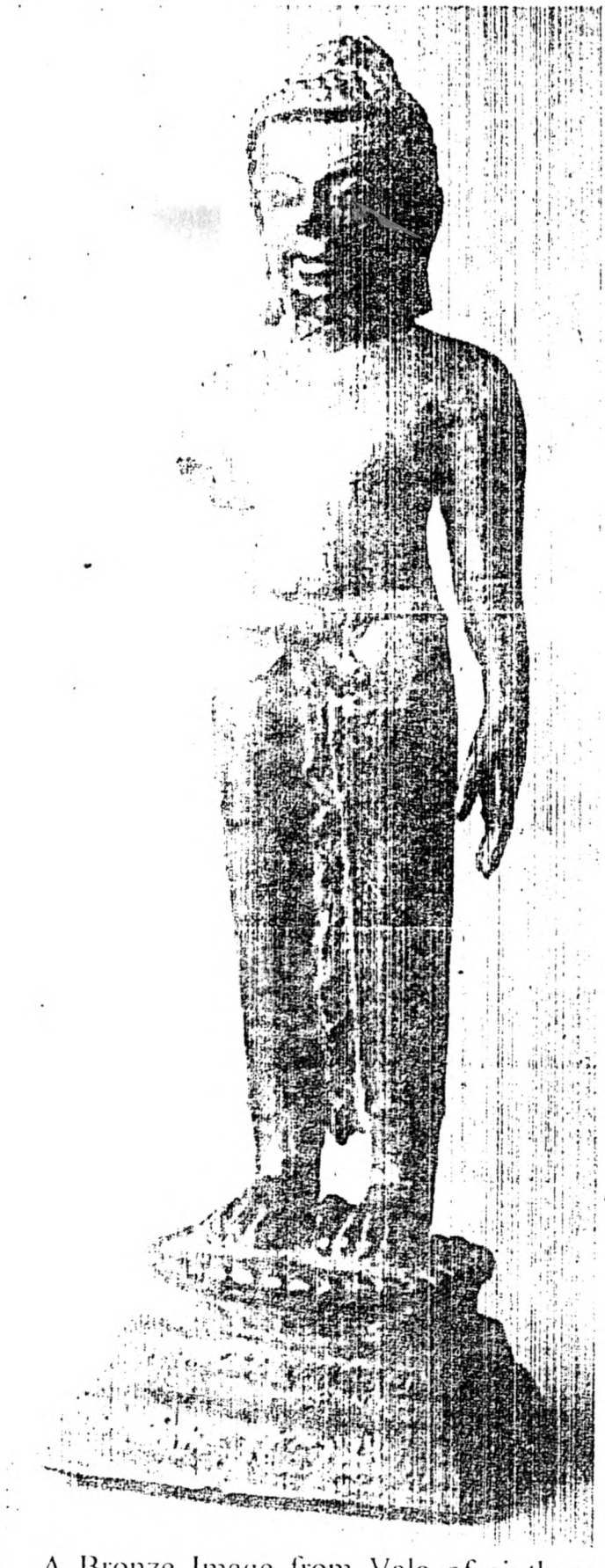


Plate XVI A Bronze Image from Vala of sixth century A.D.

(After U.P. Shah & M. A. Dhaky)

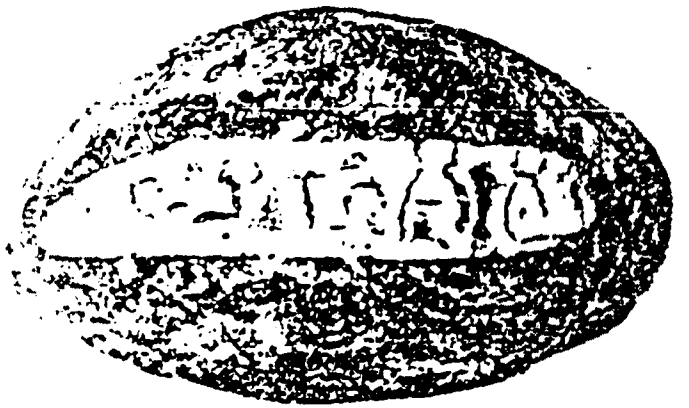


Plate XVII Clay die of Siladitya from Gohilwad Timbo

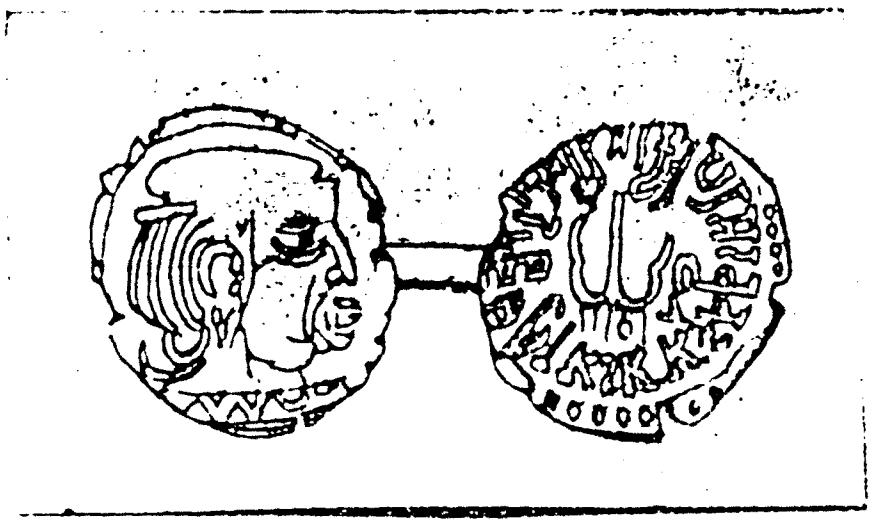
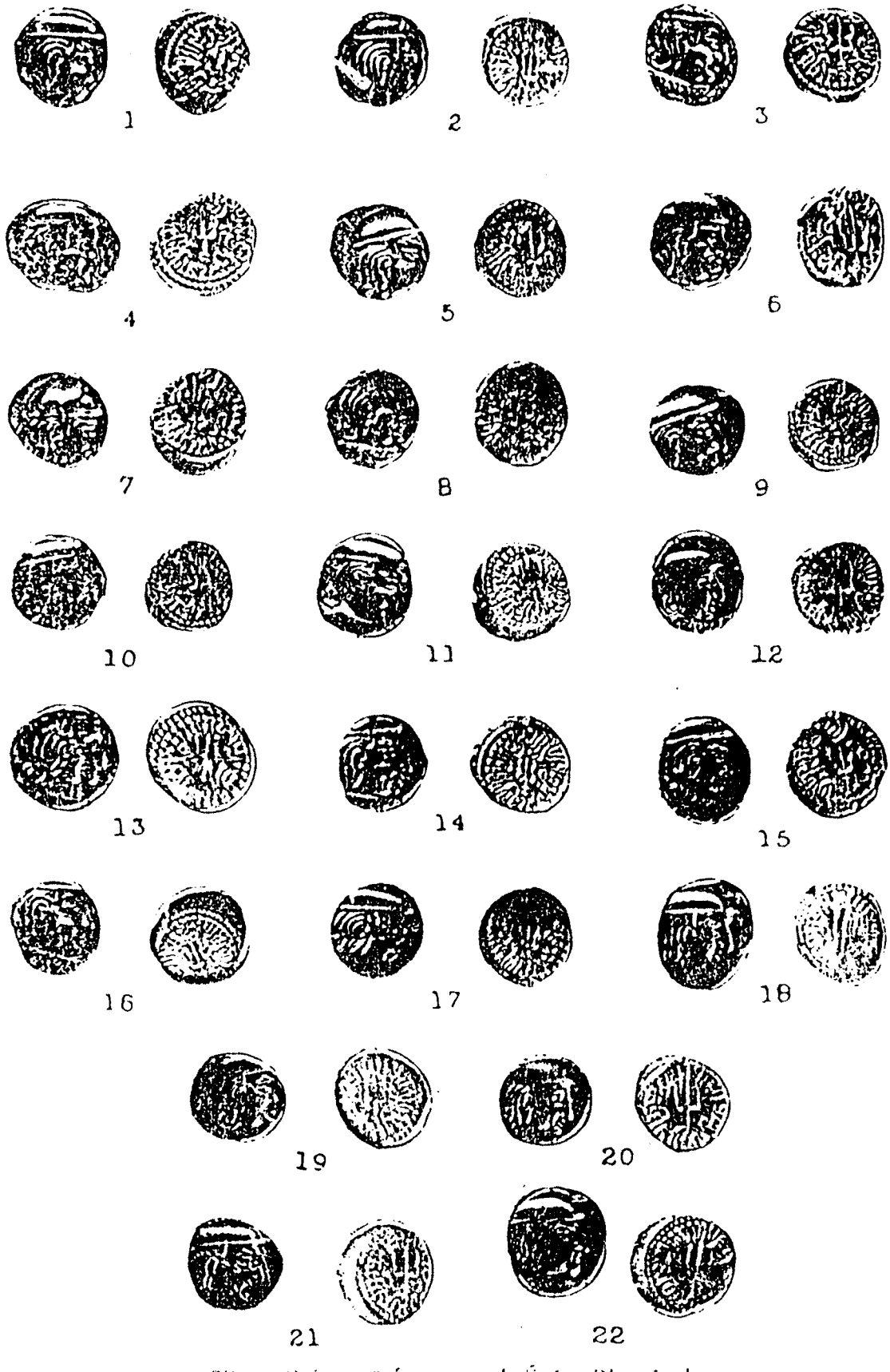


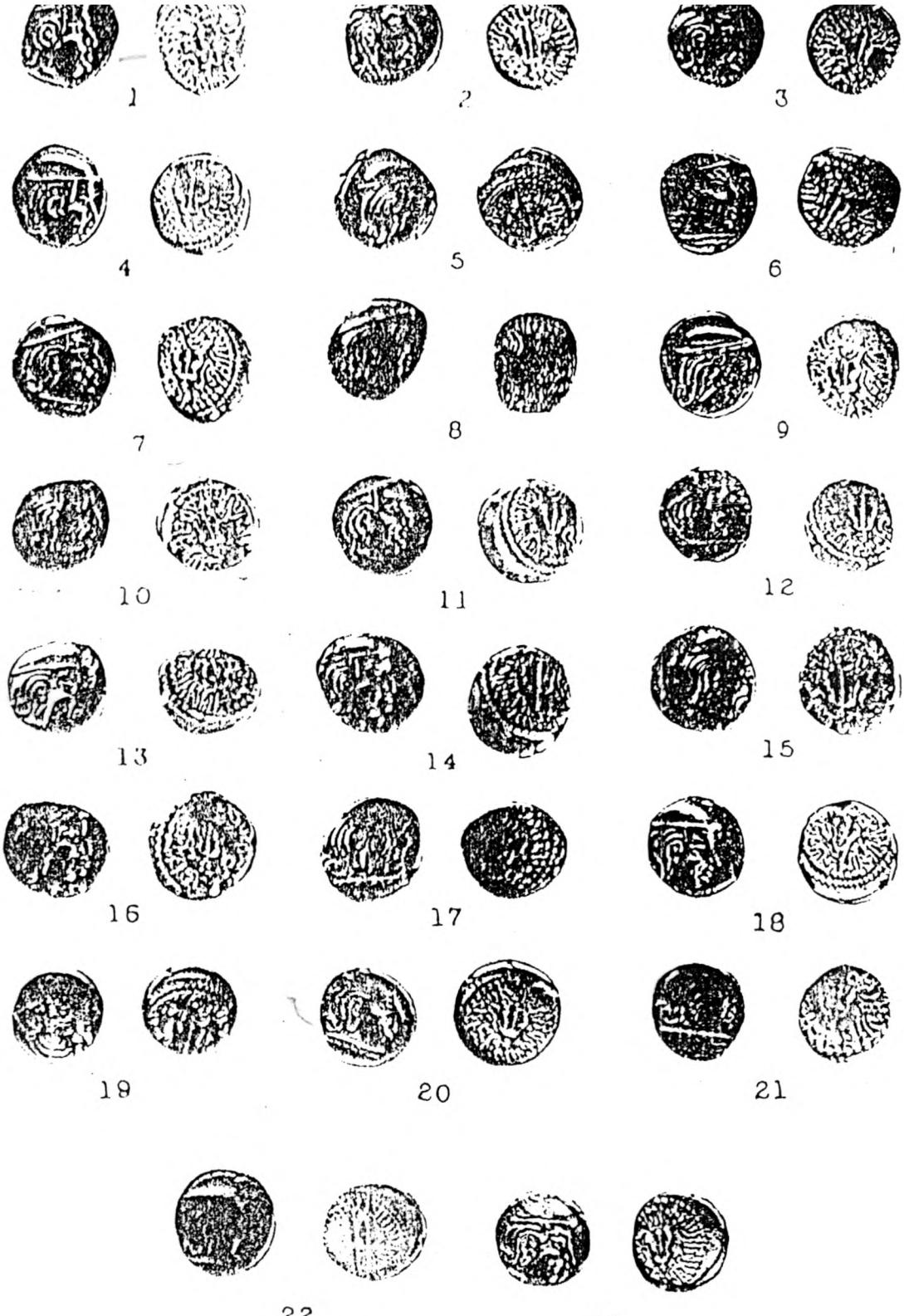
Plate XVIII A 'Maitraka coin'

(After V.V. Mirashi)



Silver Coins of Śarva and Śaśa Bhaṭṭāraka

Plate XIX Silver coins of Sarva and Sasa Bhattarka form Bilodara (A) and (B).



Silver Coins of Sarva and Śaśa Bhaṭṭāraka

(After R. N. Mehta & B. Suryavanshi)

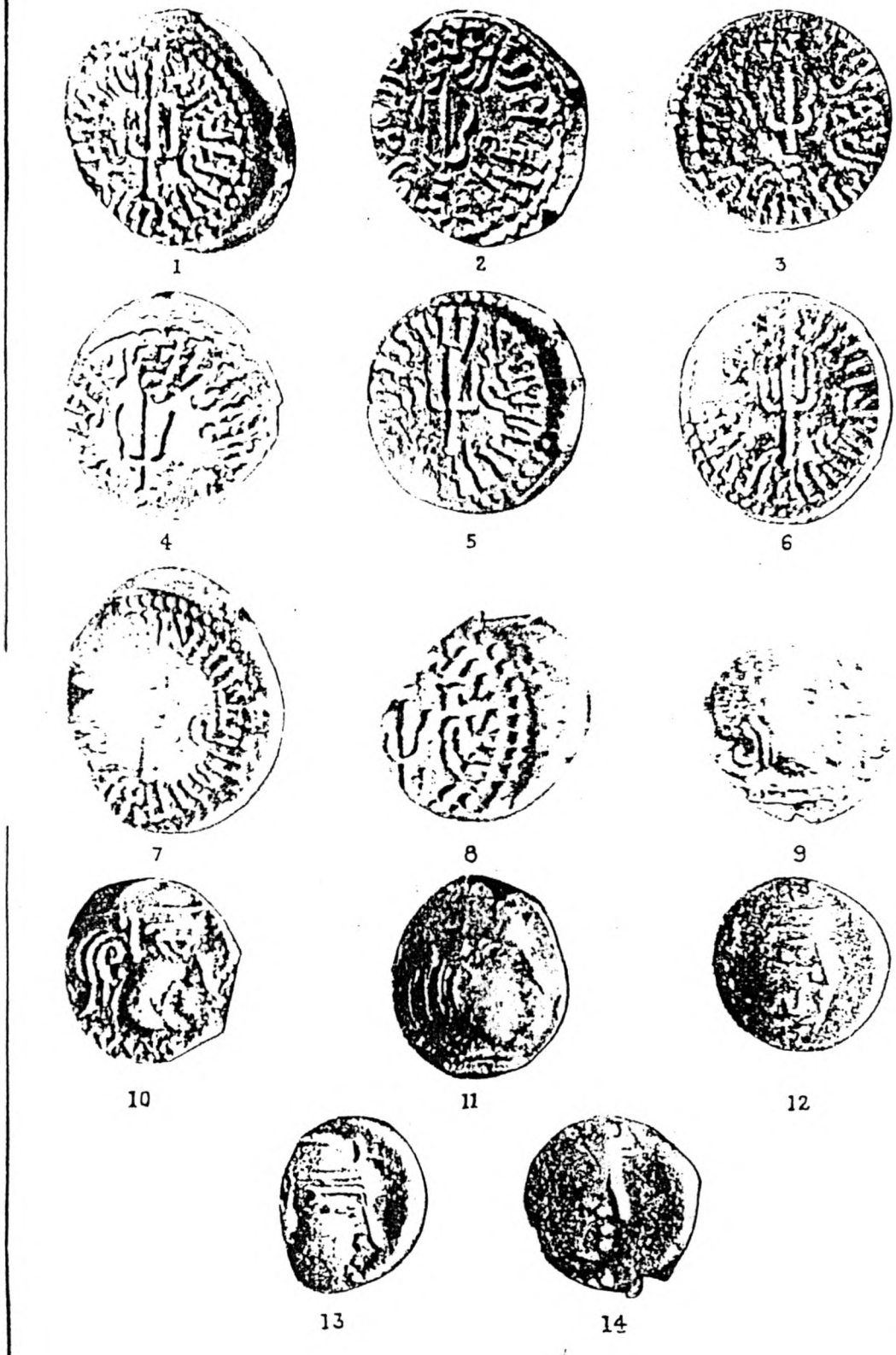
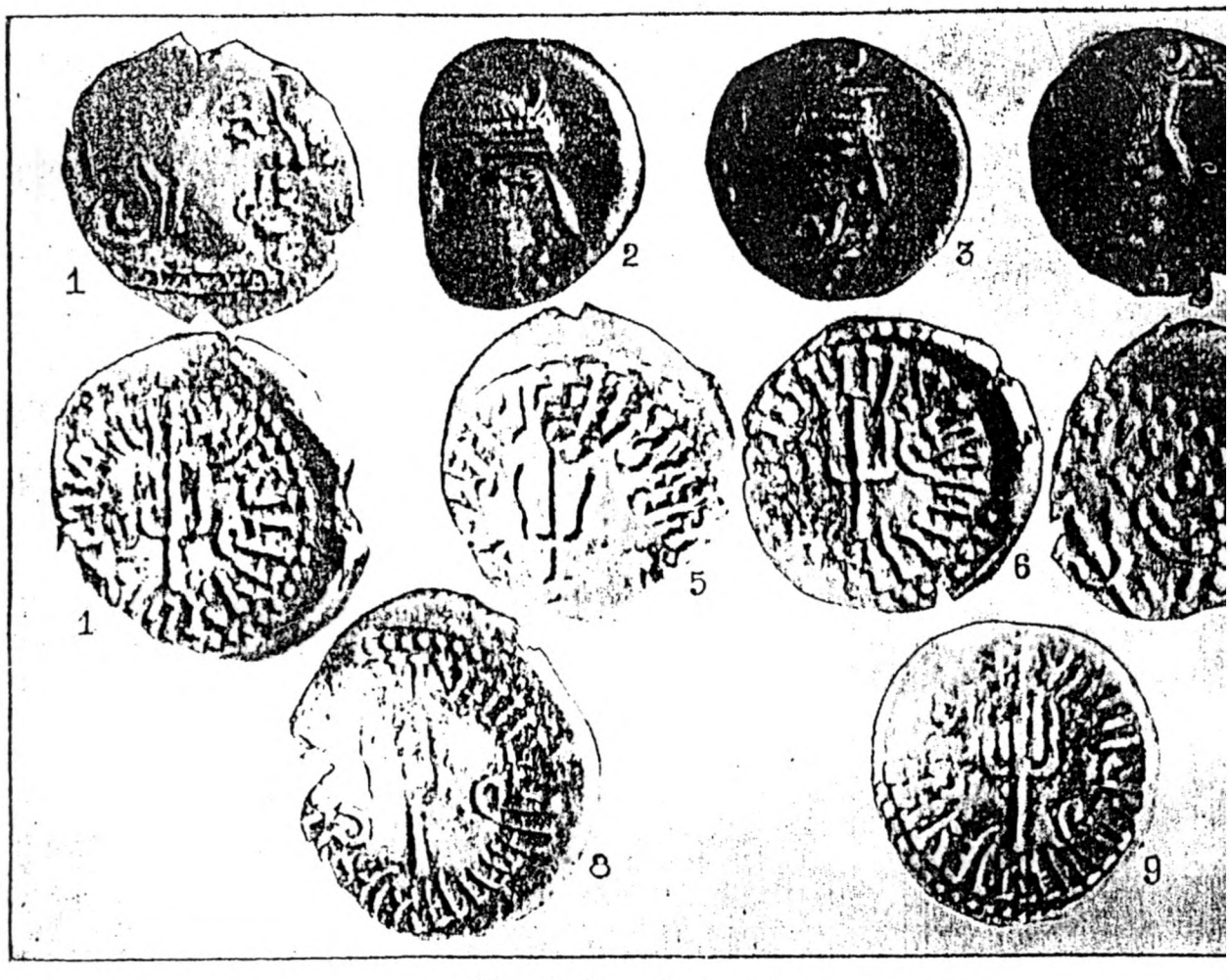


Plate XX Maitraka coins from Baroda Museum.

(After V.V. Mirashi)



Plae XXI Valabhi coins

(1-) Obverse : Śri Bhaṭṭārka (Bust)
Reverse : Trident (Triśūla) with a long handle.

(2-3-4) Busts of different Valabhī kings. Types of faces, and especially noses, diffe
Resemble Indo-Greek head-dress.

(5) Śarva Bhaṭṭārka : Trident with short handle and curved ends.
The legend reads क्षत्रपरादित्यभक्तश्रीशर्वभ...

(6-8-9) Legend similar, with slight variants.

(7) Fabric like those of Gupta coins.

(After M.R. Majumdar)

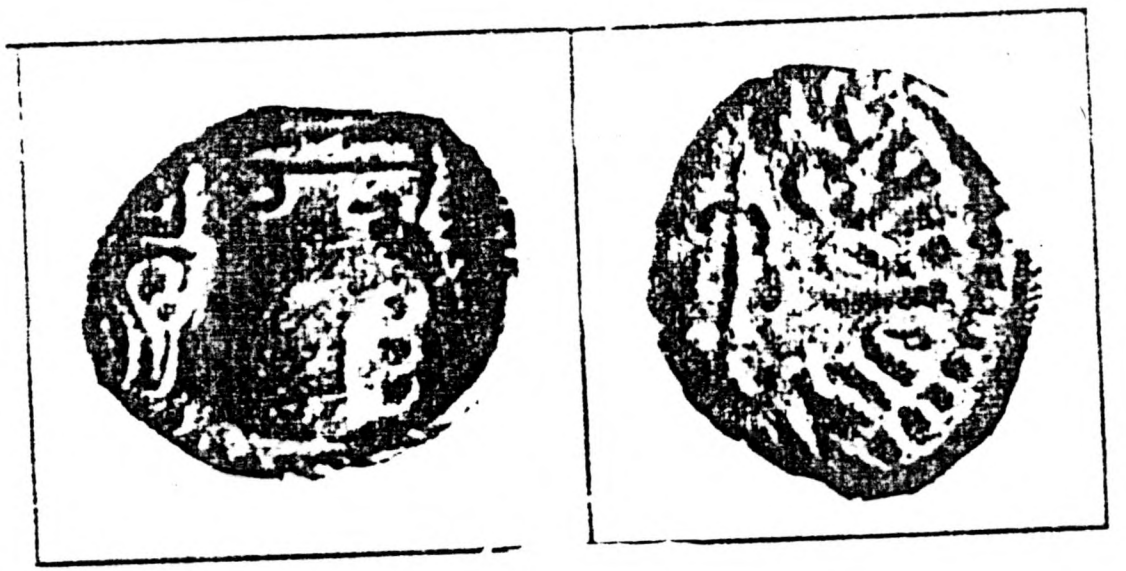
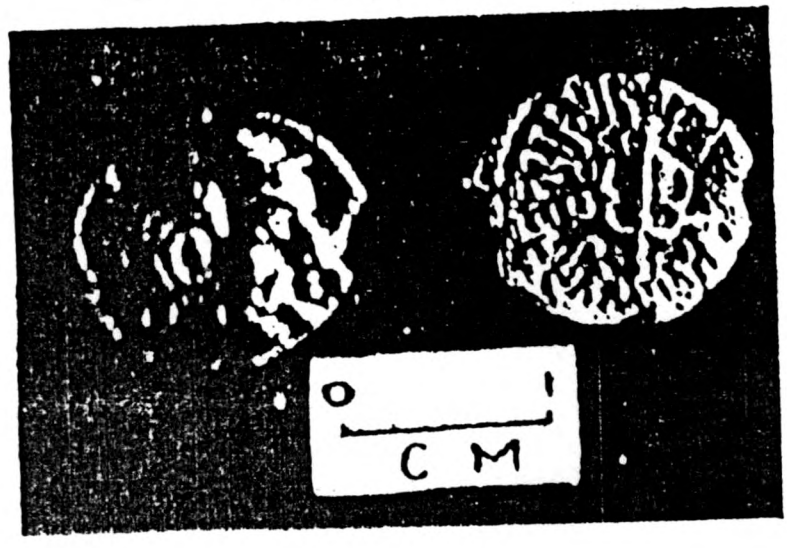
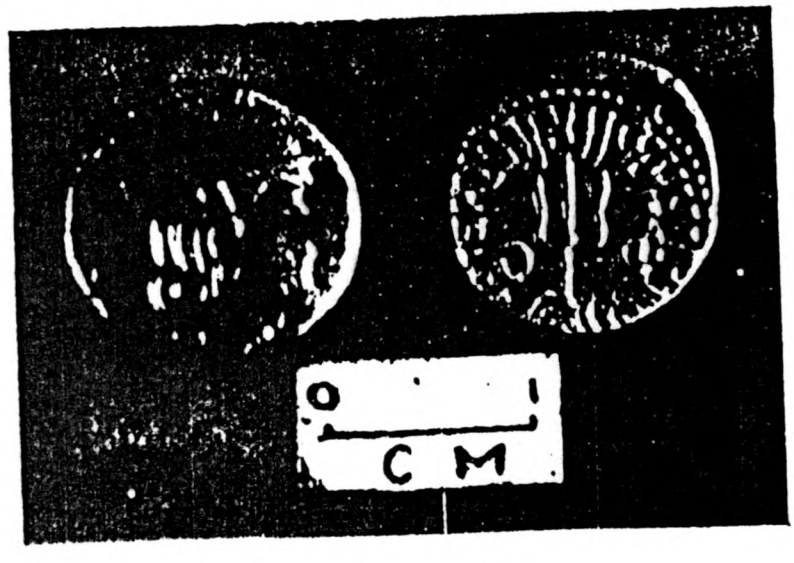


Plate XXII Valabhi coins from Vadnagar (copper)
(After Lily Srivastava)



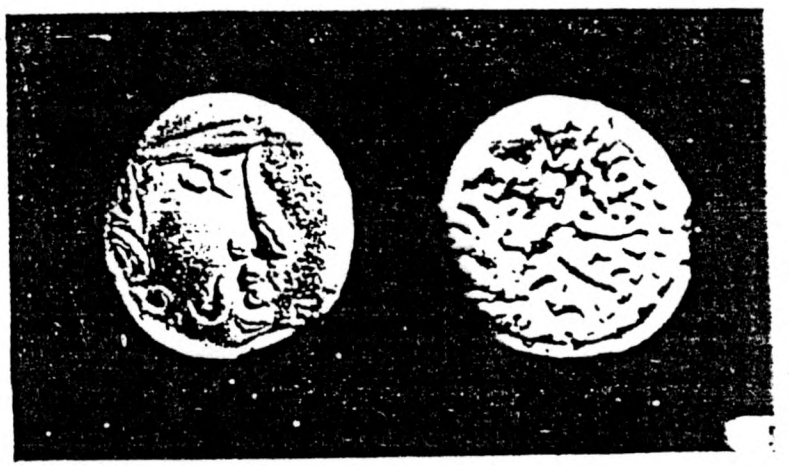
E Maitraka coin



I Maitraka coin

Plate XXIII (A) Maitraka coins from Devni Mori

(After R.N. Mehta)



(B) Silver coins of the Maitrakas.

Plate XXIV A Stone Nandi from Sandheshvara (16 kms. from Valabhi) – Maitraka Period

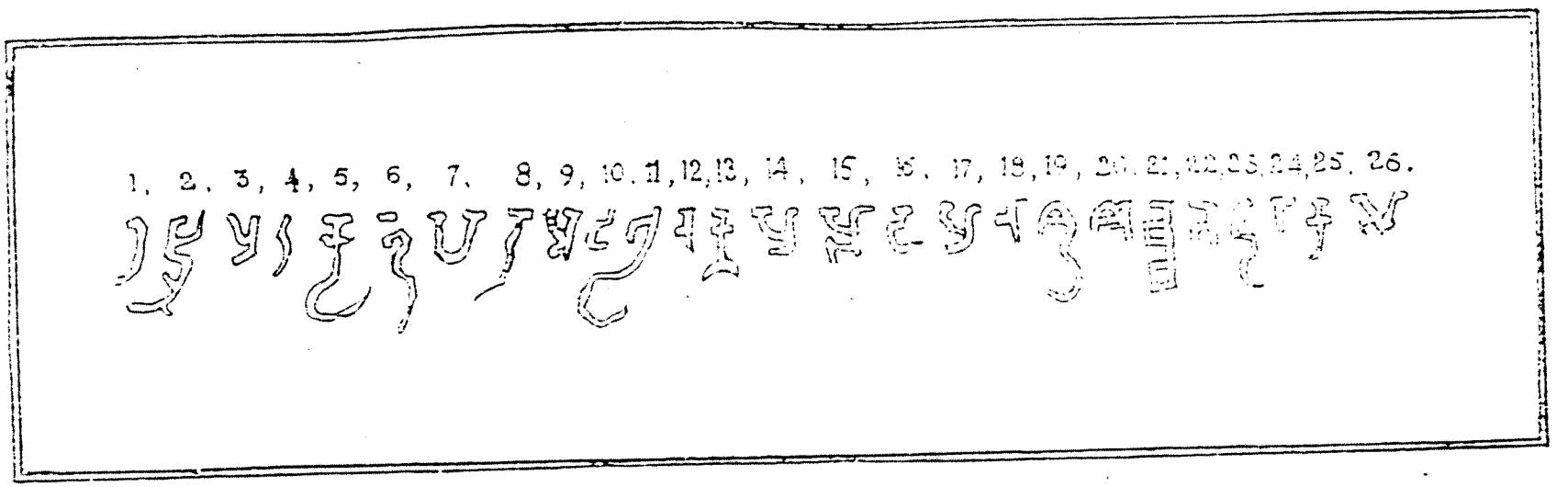


Exhibit No. 1.1 The legend of on the Valabhi coins

The Legend reads : *Rajno Mahakshatrapa ramadityabhakta-mahasamanta-sri Sarva-Bhattarkasa*

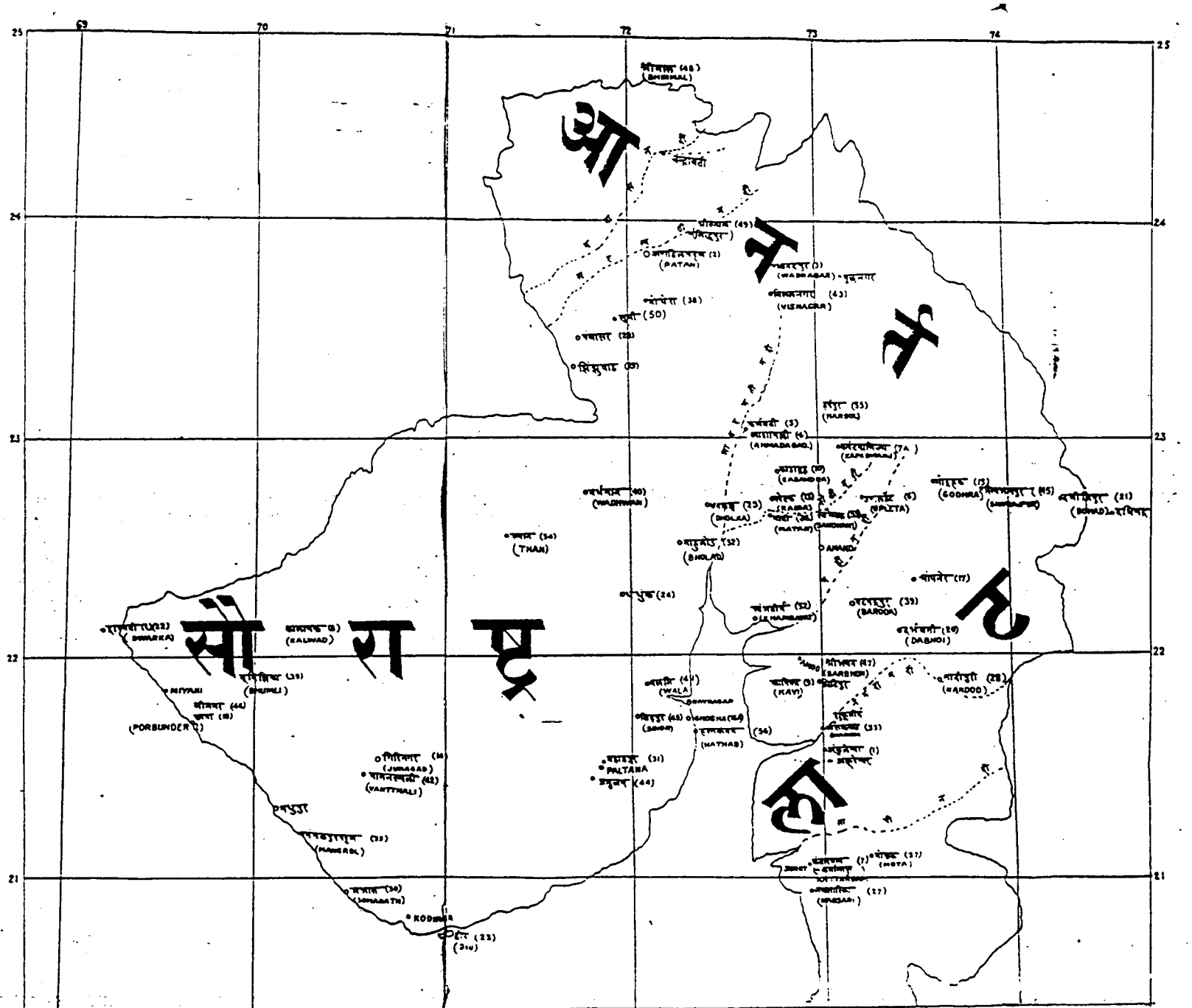


Exhibit No. 2.1 A Map showing the ancient geographical divisions of Gujarat (along with ancient sites)

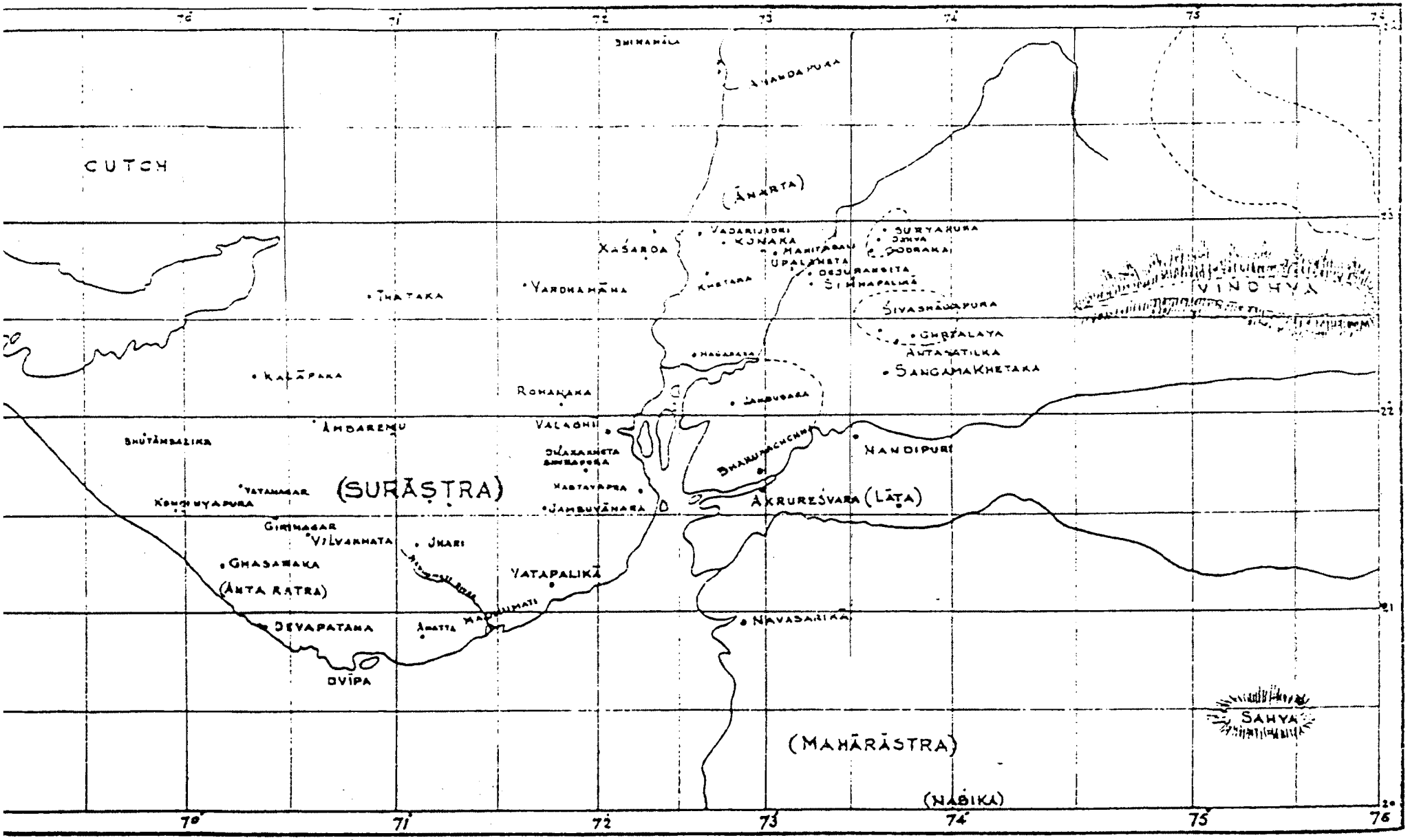


Exhibit No. 2.2 A Map of Saurastra, showing administrative divisions.

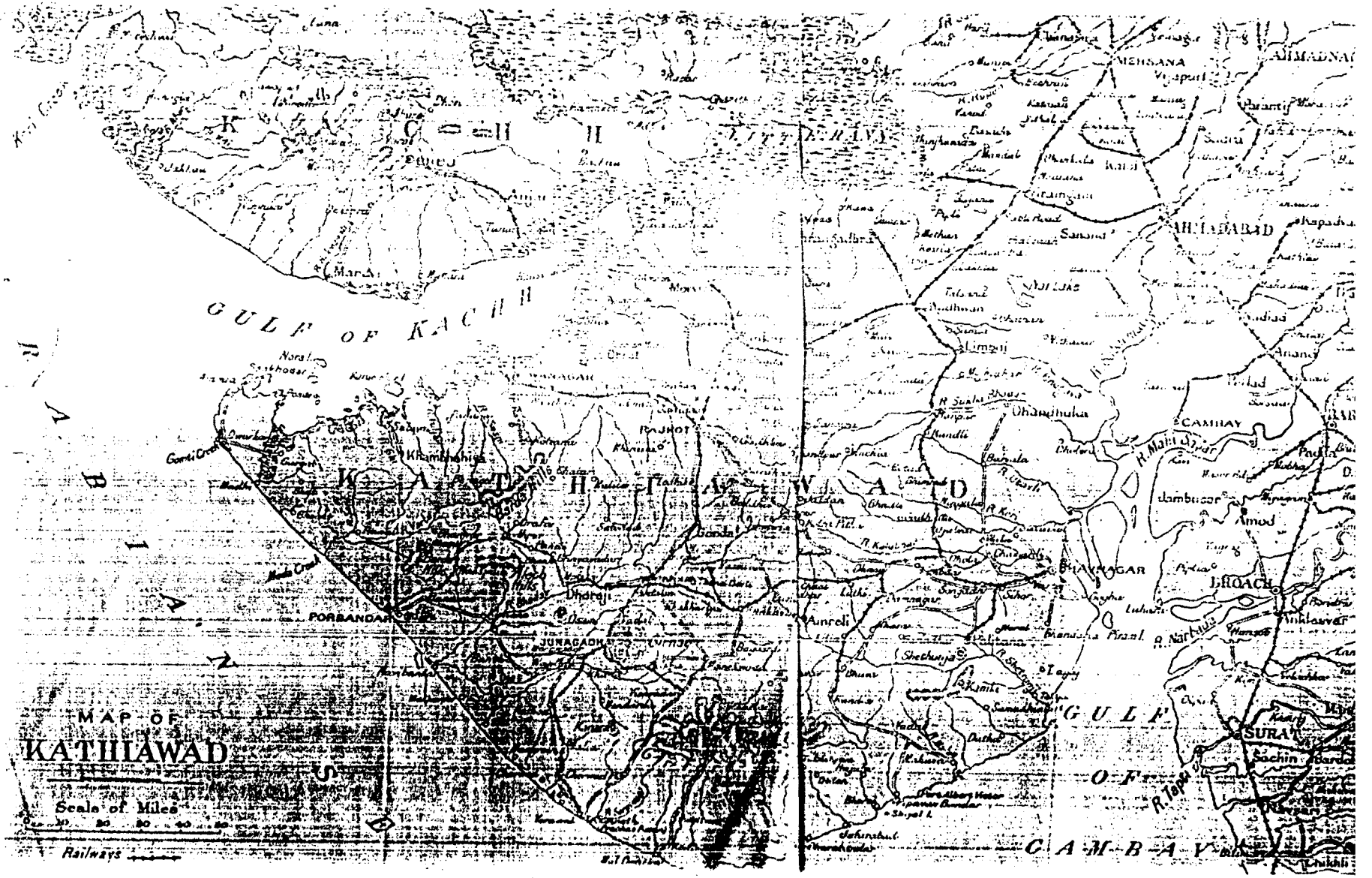
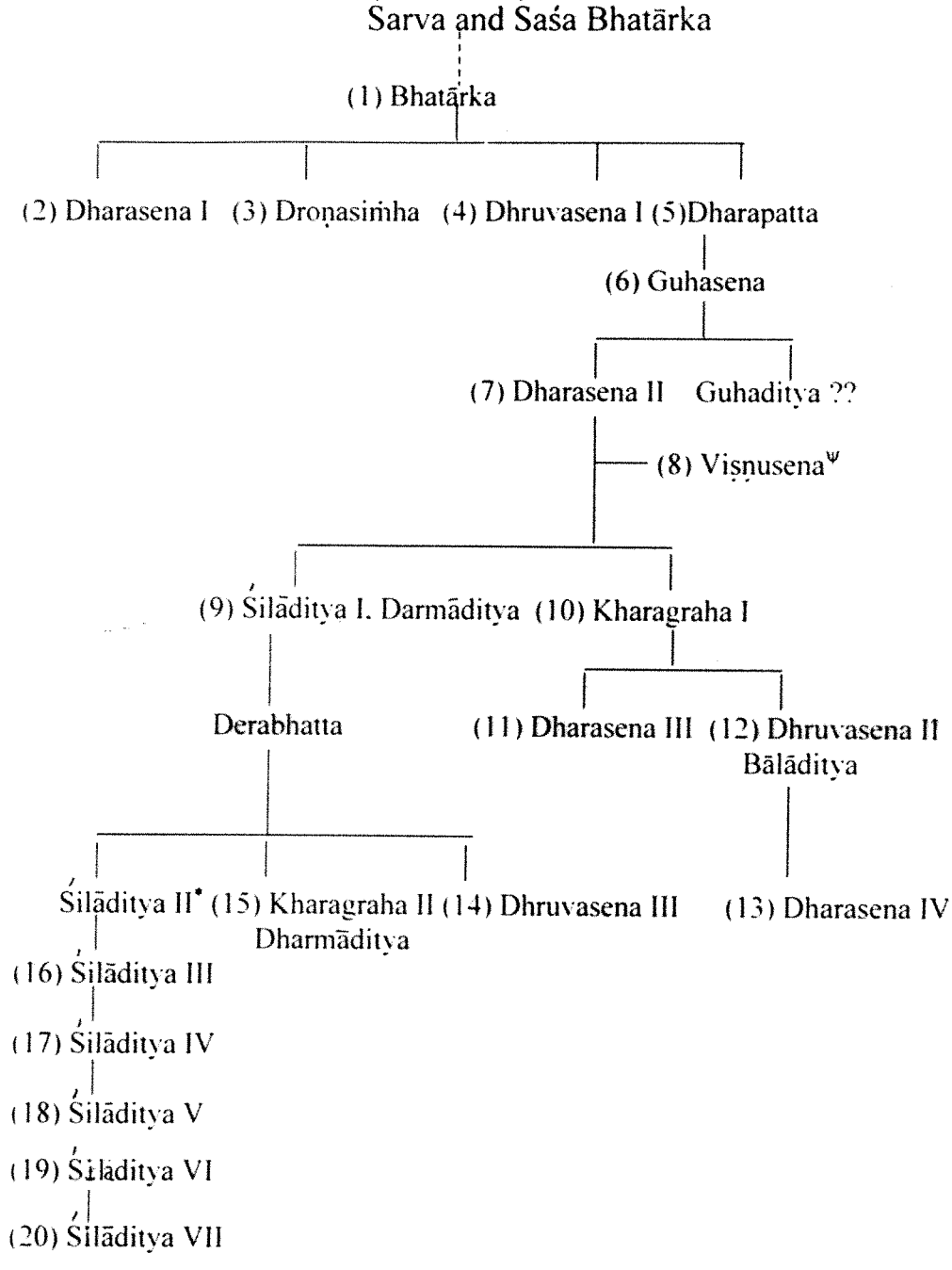


Exhibit No. 2.3 A Map of Kathiawad and its vicinities.

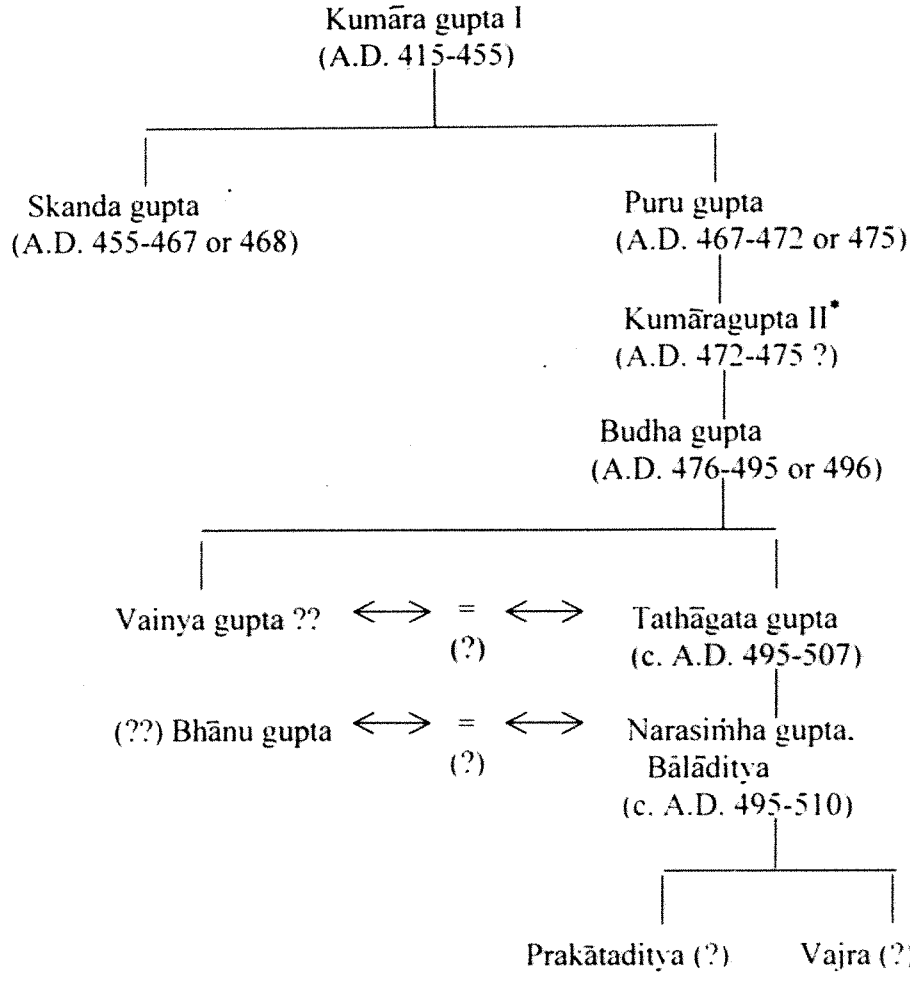
EXHIBIT NO. 3.1
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI



[ψ] The exact relation of No. (8) with his predecessor No. (7) or his successor No. (9) is not known.

* We have followed here the Fleet's arrangement (*CII*. III. No. 39) and rulers from nos. (16) to (20) are designated Śilāditya III – Śilāditya VII.. The father of No. (16) although he did not reign has been called Śilāditya II (It is noteworth that Virji mentions the eldest son of Derabhata as mere Śilāditya and not Śilāditya II. and thus the last Maitraka king according to her is Śilāditya VI)

EXHIBIT NO. 3.2
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS
(After Chandra Gupta II)



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* Whether he was an independent king or a governor (or *gopta*) of Purugupta is not known.

EXHIBIT NO. 3.3
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE AULIKARAS

Naravarmana ??

|

(1) Āditya Vardhana

|

(2) Rājyavardhana [Brother of (1)]

|

(3) Prakāśadharmana [Son of (2)]

|

(4) Mahārāja Parmeśvara
Yaśhodharmana-Viṣṇuvardhana [Son of (3)]

|

(5) Mahārājadhirāja.
Dravya Vardhana {Relation to (4) unknown]
(after c. 545 A.D.)

EXHIBIT NO. 3.4

DISCREPANCIES IN THE DATES OF THE VARIOUS SILADITYAS (Śilāditya II-Śilāditya VII) of the Maitraka dynasty

	APPROXIMATE DURATION OF THEIR REIGN IN A.D.					
S.No.	Name of the sovereign	K.J. Virji & Nita Verma	R.C. Majumdar	Bombay Gazetteer	Wilber Force Bell	Gujarat State Gazetteer & S.B. Rajyagor
1	Śilāditya (son of Derabhatta)	– (√)	– (x)	– (x)	– (x)	– (x)
2.	Śilāditya II	A.D. 658-685	–	–	Inscription in A.D. 667	–
3.	Śilāditya III	A.D. 690-710 (Insc. From V.S. 387 = A.D. 706)	A.D. 662-684	Inscription in A.D.671	A.D. 666-668	A.D. 660-685 (Insc. In 662 & 676 A.D.)
4.	Śilāditya IV	c.A.D. 711-740	–	Insc. In A.D. 691&698	A.D. 713	A.D. 685-710 (Insc. In A.D. 691-705)
5.	Śilāditya V	A.D. 740-762	–	Insc. In A.D. 722	No date specifications for the last three kings	(c.A.D. 710-735 (Insc. A.D. 721-22)
6.	Śilāditya VI	c. A.D. 762-776	–	Insc in A.D. 760		A.D. 735-760
7.	Śilāditya VII	– (x)	A.D. 766	Insc. In A.D. 766	(x)	Insc. In A.D. 766

Note :

Symbol – means no date specifications

Symbol (x) means that the scholar thinks the particular sovereign to be non existant

Symbol (√) means that the scholar thinks the particular sovereign to be existant.

EXHIBIT NO. 3.5

THE OVERLAPING INSCRIPTIONS OF ŚILĀDITYA II AND ŚILĀDITYA III

S.No	Name of the sovereign	Grant issued from	Date of issue	Reference
1.	Śilāditya II	–	V.S. 343 or A.D. 662	*JBBRAS*(NS). I. p. 37;*IA*.V. pp. 20 ff.; also Shastri. H.G. *Maitraka kālin Gujarāt*.p. 578. f.n.7.
2.	Śilāditya III	–	V.S. 346 or A.D. 664-665	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. p. 71
3.	Śilāditya III	–	–do–	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. p. 73.
4.	Śilāditya II	Kheda	A.D. 665	Shastri. H.G. *JASB*. VII. p.968
5.	Śilāditya II	Camp at Pundhikanka	A.D. 666	*E.I.* XXI. p. 208 ff; *PRASIC*. 1915-16. p.55
6.	Śilāditya II*	–	V.S. 348 or A.D. 667	*I.A.*. V. p. 208; *EI*. IV. p.74.
7.	Śilāditya III	Victorious camp at Khetaka	A.D. 669	*EI*. IV. p.74
8.	Śilāditya II	Victorious camp at Meghavana	A.D. 671	*IA*. XI. p. 305
9.	Śilāditya III[χ]	Military camp at Picchi	A.D. 675	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. pp. 57-63.
10.	Śilāditya II	Victorious camp at Meghavana	A.D. 675 or 676	*EI*. XXII. p. 114; Shastri. H.G.. *op. cit.*. p. 57 ff.
11.	Śilāditya III[ψ]	Dhananda	A.D. 676	Gadre. A.S. *IIBS*. p. 16
12.	Śilāditya II or III	–	V.S. 365 A.D. 684	*JBBRAS* (NS). I. 1925. p.72.

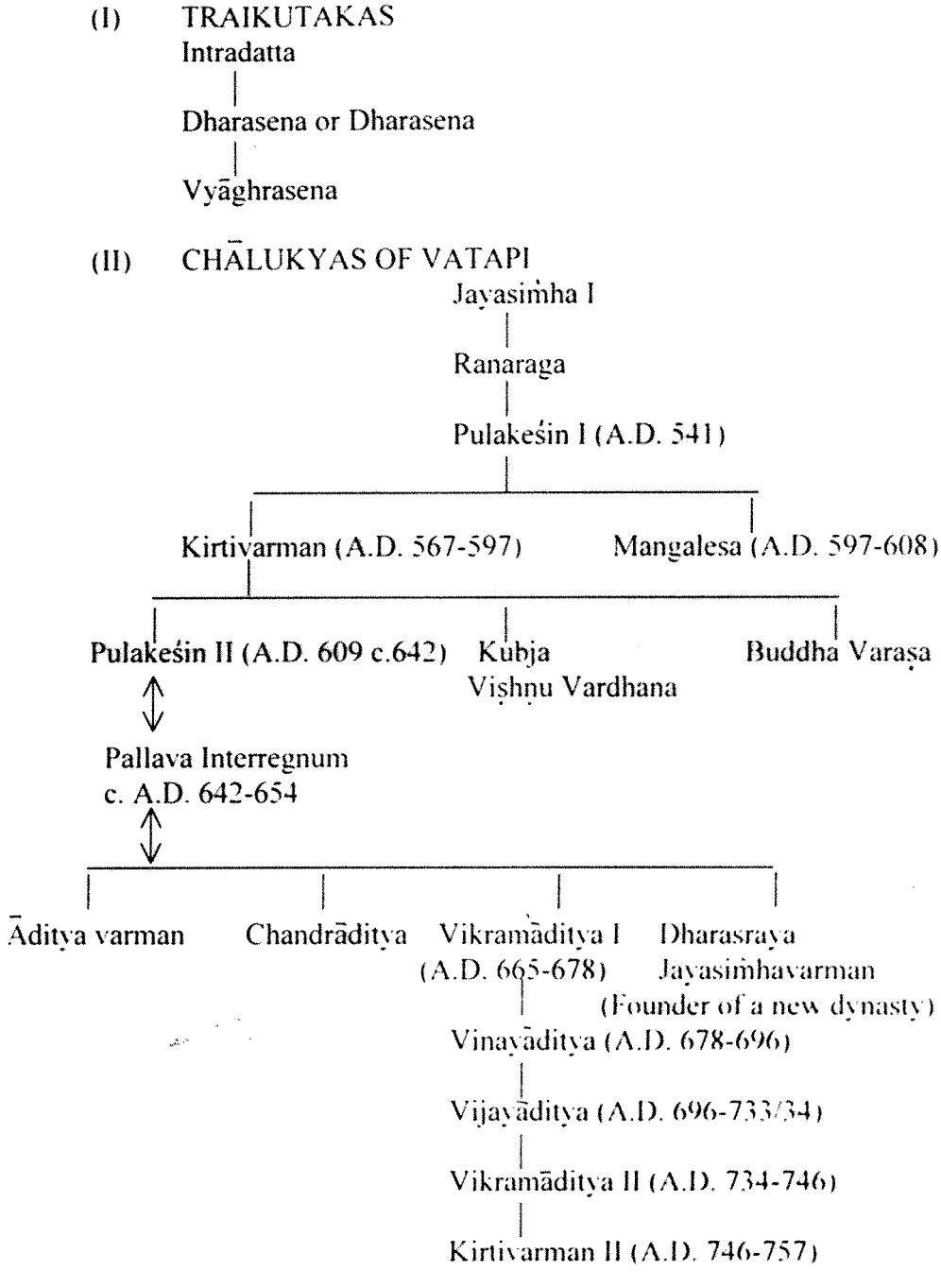
---

* This grant is also mentioned by Wilberforce Bell. *op.cit.*. p. 39. It was probably on the basis of this inscription that K.J. Virji concluded that Śilāditya II was the successor of one Śilāditya who was the elder brother of Kharagraha II (or the eldest son of Derabhata). *AHS*. p. 20.

χ According to *IEAR*. 1959-60. Appendix A. p. 39. No. 38. This inscription pertains to Śilāditya II

ψ Again *IEAR. op. cit.*. p. 38. No. 28 describes this inscription as belonging to Śilāditya II. This grant. however. clearly states that Śilāditya III was the son of Śilāditya II and the latter never ascended the throne. V.V. Mirashi in *IHQ*. XX. p. 359. f.n. 21 suggests that this was the only grant of land in Broach district made by Śilāditya III. and he did not make four such grants as incorrectly stated by Gadre. This proves that all other grants issued from Broach probably belonged to Śilāditya II

EXHIBIT NO. 3.6
GENEALOGICAL TABLES
(OF THE CONTEMPORARIES, FEUDATORIES AND SUCCESSORS OF THE MAITRAKAS)



(III) WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS OF NAVASĀRIKA

Dharasraya Jayasimhavarman (son of Pulakeśin II)

- Sryasraya Śilāditya
- Jayasraya Manglaraja
- AvaniJanasraya Pulakeśiraja

(IV) KĀLACHURIS OR KĀTACCHURIS

Kṛṣṇarāja

Śankaragaṇa

Buddharāja

(V) GURJARAS OF BROACH

Daḍḍa I

Jayabhata I Vitarāga

Daḍḍa II Prasantarāga

Jayabhata II

Daḍḍa III Bahusahāya

Jayabhata III

Ahirola

Jayabhata IV

(VI) CHAHAMĀNAS OF BHRGUKACCHA

Maheśvaradaman

Bhimadaman

Bhartṛvaddha I

Haradaman

Dhrubhatadeva

Bhartṛvaddha

(VII) CHĀPAS OF SAURĀṢTRA

Vikramarka
|
Addaka
|
Pulakeśi
|
Dhruvabhata
|
Dharanivaraha (feudatory of Mahipāla of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty)

(VIII) CHĀLUKYAS OF LĀTA

Barapparāja
|
Goggirāja
|
Kirtirāja
|
Vatsarāja
|
Trilochanapāla

Exhibit no 4.1

Table Showing the Various Gotras Along with their respective Vedic Śākhās as mentioned in the Maitraka Inscriptions

ṚGVEDA

Bhārgava
Gargya
Sarkkarakśi
Tāpasa

ATHARVAVEDA

Atreya
Droṇayāna
Kauśaravasa
Pārāśara

SĀMAVEDA

Bhāradvāja
Gargya
Kapiśthala
Kasika
Manava
Śāṇḍilya
Vrajagana

YAJURVEDA

Vājasaneya	Madhyandina	Kaṇva	Maitrayāniya
Atreya			Bhārgavā
Dandavya			Bhāradvāja
			Śāṇḍilya

Exhibit no. 4.2

TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOTRAS, VEDIC ŚĀKHĀS AND PROVENANCE OF BRAHMANAS (INCLUDING THE VINIRGATA AND VĀSTAVYA PLACES), MENTIONED IN THE MAITRAKA INSCRIPTIONS

Sr. No.	GOTRA	VEDIC ŚĀKHĀ	RESIDENT OF (VĀSTAVYA)	EMIGRÉ FROM (VINIRGATA)	REFERENCES
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	Audarsani or Andarsani or Audari		Valabhi	Daśapura	(i) Gadre, *J.U.B.*, III, p. 187 (ii) Acharya, *HIG*, Insc. No. 58
2.	Atreya (Two families)	(a) Vājasaneya branch of Yajurveda (b) Athervaveda	Nagaraka Hastavapra (Hathab) on the South east coast of Kāthiāwāḍ		(i) *W.M.A.R.*, 1925-26, p.14 (ii) *E.I.*, XVII. P. 109. (iii) *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 181 (the Bhantia copper plate of Dharasena) (iv) Acharya, no. 24.
3.	Aupasvati or Opasvati	Vājasaneya branch of Yajurveda	Akrolaka		(i) *E.I.* XI, p. 112. (ii) Acharya, no. 26
4.	Bhāradvāja (7 families)	(a) 1 family Maitrayāniya branch of Yajurveda (b) 6 families Kauthuma Śākhā of Sāmaveda	Valabhi Khetaka Valabhi Kikkata Valabhi Kusahrada	Gomutraka Girinagra Gomutraka Simhapura Anārtapura	(i) *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, NS. 3., I, p. 28, 70, 73; X, p. 77. (ii) *I.A.*, I, p. 14 (Plates of Dharasena IV) (iii) *ibid.*, I, p. 116. (iv) *V.O.J.*, VII, p. 297 (v) Acharya, Nos.29,55, 64, 74, 77
5.	Bhārgava (2 families)	(a) Ṛgveda (b) Maitrayaniya Śākhā of Yajurveda	Hastavapra Bhrahmapura		(i) *I.A.*, XV, p. 187 (Jhar grant of Dharasena II of Valabhi) (ii) *B.P.S.I.* p. 32 (iii) *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, I, p. 65 (iv) Acharya, Nos. 25, 38
6.	Dāṇḍavya or Daundavya	Vajasaneya Śākhā of Yajurveda	Dipa (Modern Diu)-a Portugese possession		(i) *E.I.*, IV, p. 74 (ii) Acharya, no. 82.
7.	Darbhsa				(i) *E.I.*, III, p. 318 (ii) Sankalia, *A.O.G.*, Appendix E., p. 72
8.	Droṇayāna	Atharvaveda	Hastavapra or Hastakavapra		(i) *I.A.*, V, p. 204 (ii) Acharya, no. 19
9.	Gargya (2 families)	(a) Kauthuma Śākhā of Sāmaveda (b) Ṛgveda	Valabhi Liptikhanda	Ānandapura Vardhamāna (Wardhawan)	(i) *J.B.B.R.A.S.*,N.S.,I,p. 71 78-79. (ii) *ibid.*, XI, p. 344 (iii) *B.P.S.I.*, p. 48 (iv) Acharya, Nos. 79, 83, 93, 94.

Sr. No.	GOTRA	VEDIC ŚĀKHĀ	RESIDENT OF (VĀSTAVYA)	EMIGRE FROM (VINIRGATA)	REFERENCES
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
10.	Jabalā	Vājasaneya branch of Yajurveda	Siṁhapura		(i) *E.I.*, XI, p. 109 (Sten Konow Five Valabhi Plates) (ii) Acharya, no. 23.
11.	Kairadi				(i) *I.A.*, VIII, p. 305 (Fleet Sanskrit and old Canarese inscriptions)
12.	Kapiṣṭhala (2 families)	Sāmaveda	Gorakesi Goras (Near Mahuva)	Vāṭapadra	(i) *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S), I, p. 51 (Diskalkar, Some unpublished copper plates of the rulers of Valabhi) (ii) Acharya, no. 65.
13.	Kaśypa	Sāmaveda	Damaripataka		(i) Acharya, no. 22 (ii) *B.P.S.I.*, p. 37.
14.	Kauśika (8 families)	(a) 2 families-Yajurveda (b)6 families-Sāmaveda	Valabhi, Mahicchaka Agastikagrahara, Jambusara Daśapura, Valabhi, Jambusara	Puṣyasambapura	(i) Acharya, Nos. 42, 50,68,81,92 (ii) *E.I.*, XI, p. 80 (Palitana plate of Dharasena II) (iii) *P.R.A.S., W.C.*, 1915-16, p.55 (iv) *E.I.*, I, p. 92 (v) *ibid.*, VIII, p. 189 (vi) *ibid.*, XXII, p. 119.
15.	Kauśaravasa	Atharvaveda	Anartapura		(i) *A.B.O.R.I.*, IV, pp. 33-37.
16.	Kṛṣṇātreya				(i) *E.I.*, XI, p. 19 (Palitana plate of Siladitya)
17.	Mānavasa or Mānava	Sāmaveda	Vatapadra		(i) *E.I.*, XV, p. 257.
18.	Pārāśara (4 families)	(a) 1 family Atharvaveda (b) 3 families Vājasaneya & Madhyandina branches of Yajurveda	Dabaka Khetaka and Agastikagrahāra	Udumbara gahvara and Saṁgapuri	(i) *E.I.*, VIII, p. 189 (ii) *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), III, p. 184 (iii) *ibid.*, p. 194 (iv) *I.A.*, XV, p. 336 (Kaira grant of Dharasena IV) (v) Acharya, Nos., 68,69,73,95

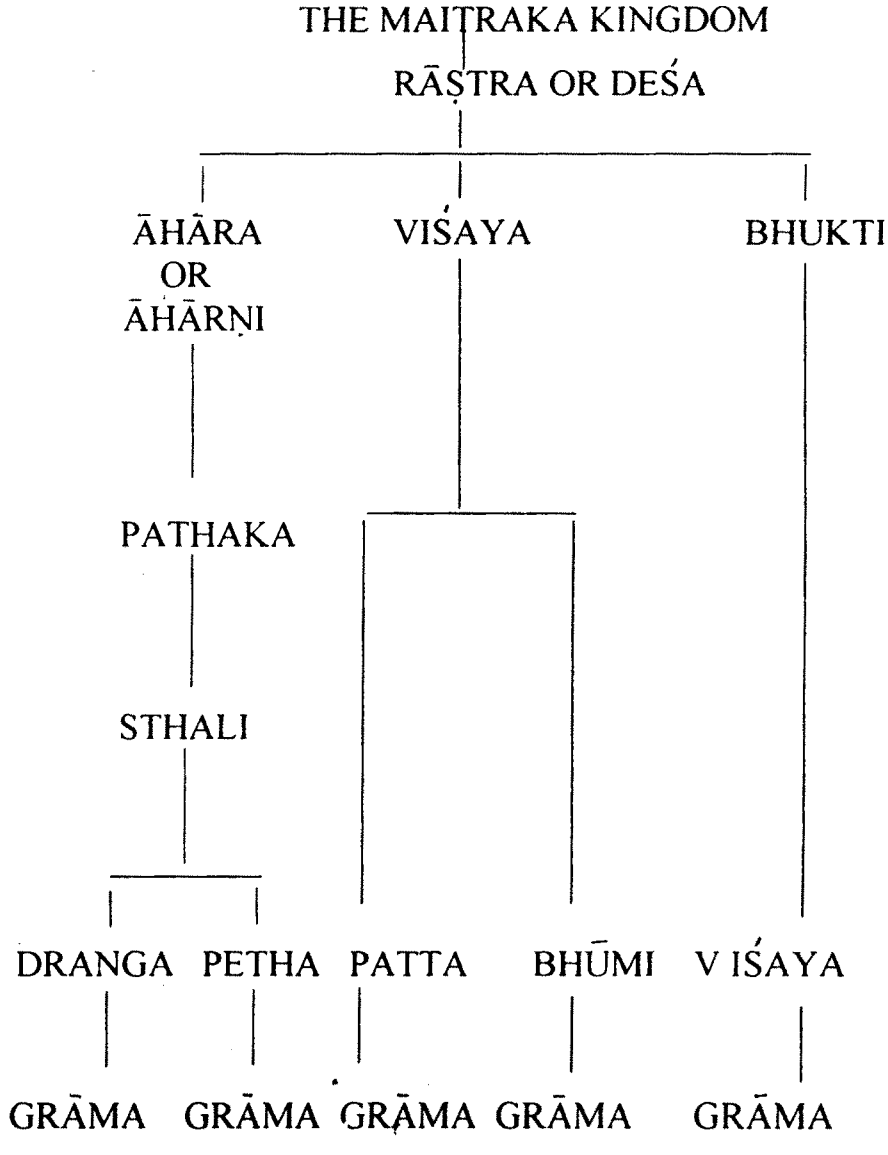
Sr. No.	GOTRA	VEDIC ŚĀKHĀ	RESIDENT OF (VĀSTAVYA)	EMIGRÉ FROM (VINIRGATA)	REFERENCES
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
19.	Śāṇḍilya (4 families)	(a) 3 families-Kauthuma branch of Sāmaveda (b) 1 family Maitrayani Śākhā of Yajurveda	Śankaravataka Vimaśakata (near Valabhi)		(i) *I.A.*, VII, pp. 68-70 (Sorath plate of Maharaja Dharasena II of Valabhi) (ii) *E.I.*, XI, p. 106. (iii) *W.M., A.R.*, 1925-26, p. 13. (iv) *B.P.S.I.*, p. 58 (v) Acharya, Nos., 17,43,44,88
20.	Sarkkarakśhi (4 families)	Ṛgveda	Ānandapura, Khetaka, Kasāragrāma	Ānandpura, Anārtapura or Anārttapura	(i) *I.A.*, VII, p. 76 (ii) *C.I.I.*, III, p. 179 (iii) Acharya, Nos., 49,72,76,96
21.	Śūṇaka				(i) *E.I.*, XVII, p. 106 (ii) Acharya, no. 12.
22.	Tāpasa	Ṛgveda	Khetaka	Girinagara	(i) *J.B.B.R.A.S.* X, p. 305 (ii) *J.A.S.B.*, VII, p. 172
23.	Traivalambayana or Traivalambaya				(i) *I.A.*, VIII, p. 305, (Fleet, Sanskrit and old Canarese inscriptions)
24.	Vatsa	Vajasaneya Sakha of Yajurveda	Simhapura	Girinagara	(i) *I.A.*, XIII, p. 160 (ii) *J.B.B.R.A.S.* I, p. 73 (iii) *C.I.I.*, III, p. 170
25.	Vrajagaṇa or Vajagaṇa	Sāmaveda	Simhapura		(i) Acharya, no. 18 (ii) *E.I.*, XVII, p. 109.
26.	Upamanyu		Girinagara	Śrāddhika (Sādhi, 1 mile east Amti, Padra taluka)	(i) *Historical and Cultural ethnography of Gujarat*-Majumdar, M.R., p. 133
27.	Vājasaneyi-Kaṇavya				(i) Acharya, no. 42.

EXHIBIT No. 5.1

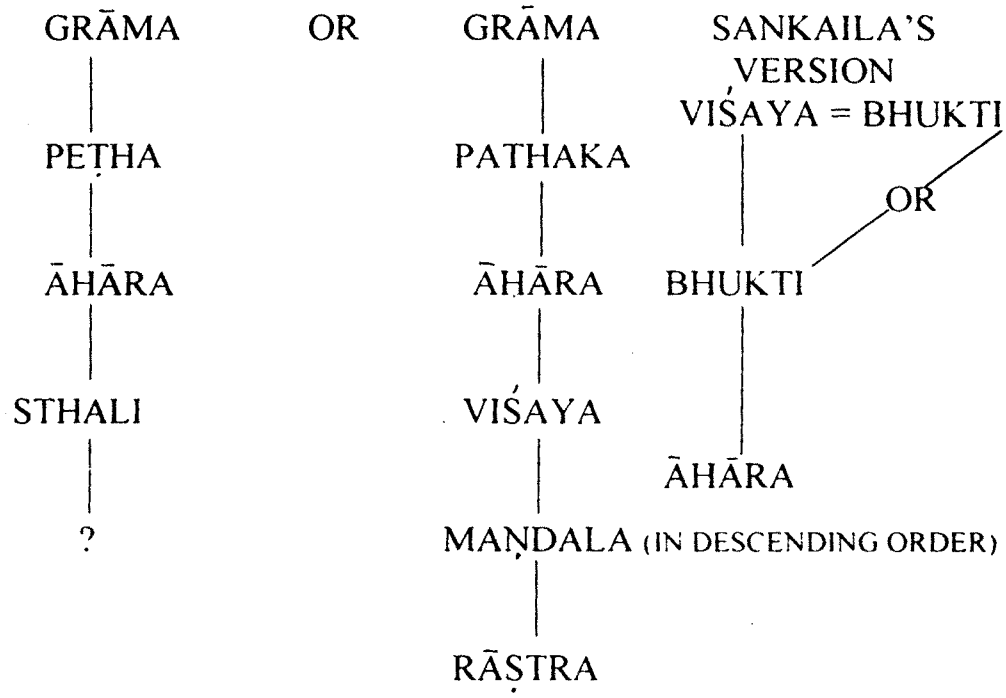
A TABLE SHOWING THE PROBABLE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THE MAITRAKA EMPIRE (BOTH HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL)

(A) VERTICAL DIVISIONS

(I) FROM ABOVE



(ii) FROM BELOW



(B) HORIZONTAL DIVISIONS

(i) ĀHĀRA OR ĀHĀRANI = VIŚAYA = BHUKTI

(ii) DRANGA = PEṬHA = PATTA = BHUMI

(iii) PATHAKA = PEṬHA = PATTA

(iv) PATHAKA = BHUMI

(v) BHUMI = VIŚAYA

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